cide to make the *pongipongi,* the chief Momotu is sent at once to notify the 622
other lineage. If decision is made by the Haa Ngata Motua, it is not neces- 643
sary for the Haa Havea to bring gifts, though they will be present in court 651
when the Haa Ngata Motua appear before the Tui Kanokupolu. The death of any of the king's relatives is an occasion for the *pongipongi,* though not the only one. It may take place several times a year. For the Haa Ngata
Motua, Ata sets the time. To make the presentation to the Tui Kanokupolu 622
before three o'clock in the afternoon is an offense for which Ata will be 643
blamed. The Tui Kanokupolu is apt to make some caustic remarks, and all 651
of the Haa Ngata Motua must seek pardon (*hu*) from the Tui Kanokupolu, 689
when each chief puts on a huge *taovala* mat reaching up his back and over (292)
his head as a sign of humility. He also dons a necklace of Tahitian chestnut [301]
leaves and sits like a matapule before the Tui Kanokupolu. The posture [516]
thus assumed is cross-legged, with the hands clasped and the two index fingers
resting together and pointing forward. The head must be bowed so that (516)
the supplicant does not look at the ruler. Motuapuaka, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule, then makes intercession for the offenders. The matapules of the offending Haa Ngata Motua sit behind the offending chiefs and cannot make intercession for their masters.

When the *pongipongi* is made at the proper time, Motuapuaka requests 622
the presenting chiefs to show their gifts. The covers of the baskets of food 643
are lifted by the commoners who have carried them in for the chiefs. In 651
addition to the Haa Ngata Motua or Haa Havea chiefs who are making the presentation, all of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court are supposed to be present.

Similar presentations of food, also called *pongipongi,* are said to have been made anciently to the Tui Tonga.

A ceremony in which the proper representatives of chiefly families present *kie* mats to a great chief or to the king is called *tookie.* It is held on [764]
occasions such as deaths, marriages, or great feasts. The term *tookie* might [585]
refer also to the division of such *kie* gifts among the members of the family [574]
of the one to whom they were presented. The general making of presents [431]
to a chief is called *tukufatongia.*

Although I was not present at any presentation of food to the Tui Kano- 431
kupolu, I saw in 1920 processions of people bringing food to the house of 793
Mr. Watkin, President of the Free Church, who was temporarily staying at the house of the Free Church minister in the village of Pangai, Lifuka Island. On October 4, thirty to forty people, mostly women, bearing vegetables and fruits assembled at the house of the mayor of Pangai. When all were assembled, they formed a procession, the women wearing great *taovala* mats as signs of respect and humility, and several pairs of men at the end of the line bearing bunches of coconuts and bananas slung from poles on

only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of 291
losi leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. 565
The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn
out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward [292]
show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*.
young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*,
ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like [622]
garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to
be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or
above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high [304]
to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's 301
comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened 565
together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood [531]
(some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited 565
to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places [515]
only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like [524]
game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, [689]
perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him 565
on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or 574
passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume [516]
a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he [576]
would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. 262
If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. 565
Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of 223
words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, successful 689
love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring. [526]
[196]

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a commoner [831]
(here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They
are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless 565
the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the 829
attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. [553]
It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen.
X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was [729]

laid upon her side to sleep. This sleeping position (*tokonaki*), lying on the 622
shoulder with the arms straightened, prevented the elbows from being ex- 513
posed to pressure or other contact that would mar their beauty. The tying 516
of the knees was for the express purpose of insuring the maiden against 834
sexual attack on the part of a foolish lover or malicious enemy. 554

A chief's daughter or chief's women of youth and beauty sit with the 622
feet half folded under and crossed at one side in a manner as to protect the 516
ankle bones from possible pressure against a hard surface, a position known 826
as *faite*, thus insuring a smooth skin over the ankles, a mark of beauty. 554

The "corset" (*nonoo*) for chief-girls consists of a short piece of tapa 622
wrapped about the small of the waist and the abdomen and tied in front. 292
Its purpose is to suppress the abdomen and give the waist a small appearance. 826
554

LOAU

A famous chief in Tongan legends is Loau who is called the Tui Haamea 622
from Haamea, a district in Vahe Loto, Tongatabu, which according to a prom- 773
inent Vavau informant was the seat of residence of the Tui Haamea, Tui 173
Haa Loau, and the Tui Haa Tuunga.

The origin of Loau is unknown. There were two and perhaps three chiefs of the name of Loau. The earlier seems to be Loau Tuputoka who is mentioned in the story of the turtle Sangone (26, pp. 49-54). A second Loau bears the additional appellation of Tongafisifonua and to him is attributed the voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152). A possible third Loau is he to whom is attributed the revision of the government of the Tui Tonga Takalaua. Apparently Loau Tuputoka became the father-in-law of the tenth Tui Tonga, Momo. According to an informant of the island of Foa, three formerly important Haapai chiefs were the offspring of Loau: Taufa Tofua of Tofua Island, Fanua Lofanga of Lofanga Island, and Kava Moungaone of Moungaone Island. These sons were sent to their respective abodes in Haapai while Loau continued to reside in Haamea in Tongatabu. The name of his residence (*api*) was Maananga.

Loau is said to have been able to foretell the future and to have cognizance of distant contemporary events; whence arose the saying, *toka i maananga* (first in *maananga*), an expression used to-day as equivalent of omniscient in speaking of the Deity. Whether or not these are attributes of all of the Loau chiefs or only one, I cannot say.

Loau is said also to have resided in Lifuka Island and a district there is still called Haa Loau, although the people of that district claim no descent from Loau.

It is difficult to assign with certainty the period of the rule of the Loau

The reply is given, "We, Motuapuaka and Lauaki; we have come in attendance on 585
Vaoloa" (or whatever may be the bridegroom's name). Then the maiden comes out, 565
and goes with the bridegroom, and this [untranslatable] invocation is uttered, "Tula-no
lomai-saiena, tietia i le tafatusema. Singano e tu'u, fa'a mumuni, sa pule mo sa manatu."
And they call the names of the bride and bridegroom, "Vaoloa e, Vaoloa e, Takala e,
Takala e," or whatever they may be. Individuals have more than one name, but the [551]
names used on this occasion are those that are held in esteem. Then they cry, "Mimisoe,
mimisoe, alaimafae, alaimafae, asapae, asapae," following this with a loud shout. Some-
one keeps shouting, over and over again at the top of his voice, "ai, ai, ai, ai," until they
come to the bridegroom's house, where an abundance of food has been prepared. Kava 585
is drunk at the bridegroom's house, the bride being the president of the ceremony. If 565
Lauaki and Motuapuaka each has a daughter, the daughters distribute the kava, and 276
continue to perform this duty until the end of the marriage ceremonies. If Lauaki and 574
Motuapuaka have no daughters to do this, they themselves control the distribution. One 431
basket of food (*fono*) is brought to distribute with the kava, the remainder of the food
that has been prepared is taken to the bride's home. Every day there are presentations
of food and kava (*pongipongi*) until the marriage is completed [or this might be rendered,
until the marriage is held]. If the man is not wealthy the festival is held quickly, but
if he is illiberal it is delayed for a long time. [Meanwhile, of course, the stingy bride-
groom is obliged to entertain the guests.]

Part of the bridegroom's duties is to attend to the building of the *fale manava*, 585
the house on, or near, the green (*malae*) where the marriage festivities are held, and 565
which serves as a dressing-room for the bride.

On the night before the day on which the marriage ceremony actually takes [276]
place, the bridegroom's sisters come with kava, and with some of the bride's people drink
kava on the *malae*. This is called *kaihaa malae*, stealing the green. The green is swept
beautifully clean. A chiefly man is brought to prepare the kava for the ladies.

Early in the morning the drum is beaten for the ceremony and the bride and bride- 585
groom are adorned in dresses provided by the bridegroom. The bride's dress is called 565
the *puke* (seized). It consists of one of the mats called *fihu*, two of the mats called 292
ngafingafi, and any specially fine or notable mat (*kie*) which is available for her to put
on. It is said that she has been "held" or "seized" with the fine mats. This dress is
the *vala fetaki*, dress of going hand in hand. The two go to a house on the *malae*,
where there is a great pile of native cloth, provided by the bridegroom, and cloth bound
round with the fine mat called *fihu*. This is the *epa* (a sort of bridal throne). They
then return to the dressing-room (*fale manava*), and change their dresses, putting on
garments provided by the bride. In these fresh garments (called *vala toonga*, con-
sisting perhaps of one each of the mats known as *fihu* and *ngafingafi*), they go again
(presumably to the house where is the *epa*) without clasping of hands. When they
return this time the dress called *vakai* is put on the bride, and she goes, without the
bridegroom, to the house on the green, and sits on her throne. Here she is anointed 585
with turmeric (called the *vala vali*, dress of painting). Then the bridegroom's sister 565
utters an invocation, "May you bear children, yea even twins." Then the bridal kava [302]
is served, accompanied with large quantities of food.

After that the drum is beaten for the native dance, and the woman goes and puts on [276]
other mats and returns and walks about. After the dance, the drum is beaten for the [264]
couple dance (dancing in pairs). Then comes the night dance which lasts until dawn 585
of the next day. Sometime during the night the *piha pongipongi* is held, and the basket 565
of food is brought which is called *lomi piha*. It is portioned out. Food is also portioned 535
out to the dancers.

Is there anything that has not its food ceremony? Each food ceremony has its 585
meaning. The coconuts to be cooked are brought green and in bunches. This is the food 565
brought by the woman's party. The coconuts are gathered in bundles and the cooked 264
food is gathered in bundles. These are the special baskets of food: the *veifua*, which is

sembled for the chief's use and comfort while he lived, were disposed of. 768
After the *fahu* took the pick of these, the *haatufunga* distributed the remainder among important chiefs and matapules, retainers, and relatives of the deceased, but kept a goodly share for himself, however.

The house built over a chief's grave was also called *faletolia*, according 765
to my information, which is perhaps in error. Its practical purpose was to 349
shelter the ornamental grave design (*fungaputu*) from wind and rain. The purpose avowedly ascribed to it, however, was that of protecting the dead chief from the sun and rain. There was no priest or caretaker in such a house, nor was food put there. Tapa and mats might be placed in it by way of remembrance. Such objects might be replaced with fresh ones from time to time. Sometimes a coconut leaf screen was put around the grave within the house.

The *falefeao* was an inferior dwelling house built near the *faletolia* of 342
a dying chief, and used as a dwelling by his attendants. Some houses might 763
already be located conveniently near the *faletolia*; others were especially constructed on the spot or moved from a former site. Baker's definition of *falefeao* as "the house built near the god's house for the reception of the sick" (no doubt when seeking divine intervention for a cure) would seem a more apt definition for *faletolia*, however. He says also that the *falefeao* may be any house built or used for those attending a superior's wants on some special occasion.

When one was about to die and the people were sent to fetch the sand 763
for the grave, one person was sent to get a branch of the *aveave* and put it in the place in the cemetery where the sand from the beach was to be deposited. This was termed *ae aveave* (to plant the *aveave*). This branch was not removed but allowed to grow.

The digging of the grave is the last of the preparations and is never 764
done while the sick person is still alive. Should the burial be postponed after the grave has been dug, the grave is filled up and the same site dug out afresh on the day of burial.

The funeral lights which are burned at night about a corpse are called 764
takipo. A high chief has more lights than a commoner. There are three 416
people to a torch, one to hold it, two to replenish it. The torch holders face the body, but are not near it. The earliest traditional mention of the *takipo* is afforded by the story of the death of the famous Tui Tonga Tuitatui who reigned about 1200 A. D. (26, p. 45).

Old, torn mats (*tauangaa*) are worn as a sign of mourning for a near 765
relative. For a remote relative who is not a chief a good mat may be worn. 602
The mourning mat worn by a chief over his tapa garment is called *fakanga-* 292
fingafi. The generic term *taovala* applies to *tauangaa* and *fakangafingafi*. Neither tapa nor modern textile cloth may be so worn.

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth 266
Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is re- 643
vealed in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two 175
assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish [276]
for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. [687]
A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving [412]
alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal 000
god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a
Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and sub- 535
sequent writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given [114]
by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information
are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances 585
were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small 535
paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian [177]
dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in
which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a
lakalaka. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the 533
queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent
famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a 538
poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made 533
in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, 123
wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke
extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference
was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor 517
of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished
by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About 535
twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside
the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, [292]
consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored
cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers [301]
were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the [302]
body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest 776
always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, however, 793
but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their 787
priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who [778]
stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the [825]
fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa [613]
Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu.

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name. 776

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he conquered 776
Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's 346
house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole
just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu himself; 776
that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different 787
from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered
by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The difference
between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time
and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Toumaama. [793]
Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's
god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. 776
If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled 782
who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick
person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints [304]
placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground [516]
outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on
the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also 776
to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god 782
has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then 793
they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home. 755

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house 782
all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a
sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace [292]
of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. 778
People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were [784]
war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries,
were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish 776
form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his 793
suicide. (26, p. 83.) 825

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be strangled. 793
The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In 165
those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other 776
gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The [825]
pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the
god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted 776
something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be 782
given for the demand.

fanga: they immediately proceeded to his fa- 726 669
ther's grave, (Mr. Mariner being also with them) 634
to perform the ceremony of Toogi. All who 796
went for this purpose put on mats instead of 769
their usual dress, and wreaths made of the leaves
of the *ifi* tree round their necks (significant of [292]
respect and humility). They sat down cross- [824]
legged (the usual way of sitting) before the [516]
grave; Finow, as well as the rest, beating their
cheeks with their fists for about half a minute, 726
without speaking a word. One of the principal 669
matabooles then addressed the spirit of Finow's 634
father to the following purpose: "Behold the 796
"man (meaning Finow) who has come to 769
"Tonga to fight his enemies: be pleased with 782
"him, and grant him thy protection; he comes [565]
"to battle, hoping he is not doing wrong; he
"has always held Tooitonga* in the highest
"respect, and has attended to all religious cere-
"monies with exactness." One of the attend-
ants then went to Finow, and received from
him a piece of cava root, which he laid down on
the raised mount before the Fytoka (burying-
place). Several others, who had pieces of cava
root in their bosoms, went up to the grave in 726
like manner and deposited them. The cere- 669
mony being thus finished, Finow and his friends 634 431

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* Tooitonga is a great chief, supposed to be descended 276
from a God. 796 [643]

727
purpose of procuring reeds to rebuild the 349
fortress of Nioocalofa. This step was taken 712
by the admonition of the gods, who were [787]
consulted on the occasion through the medium
of the priests.

As the invocation of the gods, and inspiration 128
of the priests, are circumstances that will often
occur in the course of this work, it will be well
to take the present opportunity of describing
them.

The night previous to the consultation of the [787]
oracle, the chief orders his cooks to kill and pre- [262]
pare a hog, and to procure a basket of yams,
and two bunches of ripe plantains. These 787
things being got ready, the next morning they 793
are carried to the place where the priest resides,
or wherever he may be at that time: the priest
is sometimes previously apprised of the circum-
stance, at other times not. The chiefs and ma- [292]
tabooles clothe themselves in mats, and repair [276]
to the place where the priest is to be found: if
it be at a house, the priest seats himself just
within the eaves *; if at a distance, he seats him-
self on any convenient spot of ground, and the
matabooles seat themselves on either hand, so
as would form a circle, or rather an ellipsis, if

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* Their houses are built somewhat in form of a shed, [342]
open all round, and the eaves coming within about four feet
of the ground.

793
787 there were not a considerable vacant space left
276 opposite the priest. In this space, at the bottom
[292] of the circle, sits the man who prepares the
cava, the root being previously chewed by the
787 cooks, attendants, and others, who sit behind
209 him: behind these again sit the chiefs indiscriminately
565 among the people. The chiefs take
[276] this retired and humble station on account of
the sacredness of the occasion, conceiving that
such modest demeanour must be acceptable to
the gods.

787 As soon as they are all seated, the priest is
considered as inspired, the god being supposed
793 to exist within him from that moment. He remains
for a considerable time in silence, with
his hands clasped before him; his eyes are cast
[565] down, and he rests perfectly still. During the
time that the victuals are being shared out, and
the cava preparing, the matabooles sometimes
begin to consult him; sometimes he answers
them, at other times not; in either case he remains
with his eyes cast down. Frequently he
793 will not utter a word till the repast is finished,
787 and the cava too. When he speaks, he generally
154 begins in a low and very altered tone of
[195] voice, which gradually rises to nearly its natural
pitch, though sometimes a little above it. All
that he says is supposed to be the declaration of
the god, and he accordingly speaks in the first

262 pany by wrestling with one another. The king
796 and his chiefs, all dressed in plaited *gnatoo*, were
766 already seated in the house, viewing what was
784 going forward. The company being, at length,
765 all arrived, and having seated themselves, the
[517] king gave notice that the ceremony was to be-
[526] gin. The young chiefs and warriors, and those
who prided themselves in their strength, then
[292] got up singly, and endeavoured in turns to carry
off the largest hog: when one failed, another
262 tried; then a third, and so on, till every one
796 that chose had made a trial of his strength. To
766 carry one of the largest hogs is not a thing easy
784 to be done, on account of its greasiness as well
765 as its weight; but it affords a considerable share
482 of diversion to see a man embracing a large fat
[565] baked hog, and endeavouring to raise it on his
shoulder. As the hog was found too heavy for
one man's strength, it was carried away by two,
whilst a third followed with its liver. They
were deposited on the ground near Tooitonga's
malái, where the men waited till the other hogs
were brought. In the mean time the trial was
going on with the second hog, which being also
found too heavy for one man, was carried away
by two in like manner; and so on with the
third, fourth, &c., the largest being carried away
first, and the least last. The second, third,
fourth, &c. afforded more sport than the first,

262 tors, which it would be sacrilegious to take
796 away while it was good for any thing.

766 Finow had three daughters, the eldest of
784 whom, now about eighteen years of age, had
765 been long betrothed to Tooitonga, who having
expressed his wish that the marriage should
643 take place, Finow gave orders for the necessary
581 preparations, about five days after the above-mentioned ceremony. Tooitonga was now about forty years of age. The particulars of this chief's marriage, which was somewhat different from those of other chiefs, shall be here described.

643 The young lady having been profusely anoint-
585 ed with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandal-wood,
[302] was dressed in the choicest mats of the Naviga-
tor's islands, of the finest texture, and as soft as
[292] silk; so many of these costly mats were wrapped round her, perhaps more than forty yards, that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner; and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half-sitting posture, leaning upon her female attendants, who were under the necessity of again raising her when she required it. A young girl, about five years of age, was also dressed out in a similar manner, to be her immediate and particular handmaid. Four other young virgins, about sixteen years of age, were also her fol-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 should return from Hamoa. He had, indeed,
581 brought two wives with him, natives of that
[177] place, but, finding that his friends at home had
not been unmindful of him in this particular,
he resolved to marry these young maidens also:
and partly to please his own humour, and
partly to afford a little amusement to the Hapai
people, he resolved, also, that the ceremony
should be performed, for the most part,
after the manner of the Navigator's islands.

634 On the morning of the day of marriage A,
585 which was about a week after the arrival of the
[565] prince, most of the lower class of the people
were employed in bringing from different parts
of the island, yams, ripe plantains, and bananas;
cocoa-nuts, bread fruit, fish, and cakes*.
These were piled up on the *malài* in four large
heaps, with a baked pig on the top of each.
[292] The people assembled on the spot, dressed up
[301] in new garments, ornamented with wreaths of
[302] flowers, and with red ribbands made of the fine
membrane of the leaf of the *lo aców*, much resembling
silk: their persons were anointed
with sweet-scented oil. The spectators seated
themselves in two sections of a circle, one beginning
from the right, the other from the left

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[262] * These cakes are made of flour prepared from the *Ma-*
[252] *hoá root* (see the vocabulary), mixed up with scraped cocoanut
into a paste, and baked. They are considered a luxury.

A [of Finow's son--Analyst]

hand of Finow and his matabooles; at their ter- 634
minations stood the Hapai people on the one 585
side, and the new-comers (most of them Hapai people also), on the other, so as to be opposite to each other, both parties being furnished with clubs made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut tree. The prince, who was also armed with a club, stood up among his Hamoa companions.

The two brides were now conducted by their female attendants from the house of Finow
(near the *malâi*). They were dressed in the [292]
finest Hamoa mats *, but not in such profusion as described in Tooitonga's marriage, and were veiled in the finest *gnatoo*. They were led into the house on the *malâi*, and seated on bales
also of the finest *gnatoo*. Here their feet, [302]
hands, faces, and breasts, were anointed with a mixture of sandal-wood oil, and the purest turmeric, producing a deep orange tint on their
skins. They remained seated in this place, to 634
be spectators of the combat that was about to 585
ensue between the inhabitants of Hapai and 526
their friends from Hamoa. 648

The two parties being ready, the challenges

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* These mats are made entirely by hand, and when very fine and large, occupy two years making; this renders them exceedingly valuable. They are so exquisitely manufactured, that one would suppose them to be woven by a loom,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

the champion then advances towards the chief 634
who presides at the head of the circle (in this 585
instance the king), sits down before him, out 526
of respect, then rises immediately, and returns 648
to his own party.

Such was the mode in which these club-fights were conducted: the prince engaged in several of them, and performed great feats of bravery: he fought no less than fourteen or fifteen battles, and always came off victorious.

The fighting with clubs being over, at a signal from Finow, the boxing and wrestling matches commenced. As their performances [128] in these ways have been so accurately described by Captain Cook, it would be unnecessary to enter here into a detail.

These feats being concluded, the prince and 634
his chiefs retired to the neighbouring houses to 585
dress their heads with a sort of turban, made [292]
of white *gnatoo*, ornamented with small red feathers. Thus equipped, they returned to the *malái*, when the chiefs sat down again among their own party, and the prince went up to his two brides, who were still sitting in the house, raised them up, one by each hand, and led them forth upon the *malái* amid the acclamations of

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N. B. when an *e* occurs in the Tonga language, it must be [104]
pronounced like *a* in date, late, &c. For farther particulars on the subject of pronunciation, see the grammar.

634 general boxing-match; the men from the north
585 of the island combating those from the south;
526 till at length the men of the north drove their
opponents entirely off the ground. On occasions
292 of such fights the combatants are allowed
to wear turbans, to resemble more nearly a real
[714] fight. It must here be observed that turbans
are not allowed to be worn but in time of war,
and then only by those who are going to battle,
unless on occasions of formal rejoicings like the
present, or at night-time by chiefs and matabooles,
or by the common people when at work
in the fields or in canoes. On all other occasions,
to wear a head-dress would be disrespectful;
for although no chief be present, yet some
292 god may be at hand unseen. This custom is
565 kept up with such strictness, that if a man were
626 to wear a head-dress on other occasions, he
would be sure to be knocked down by the first
person he met who was a superior, and even,
[576] perhaps, if he were an equal. On occasions,
when a turban is allowed to be worn, it must be
removed from the head when a superior happens
to approach (unless in time of actual battle);
but it is usual for the superior to say to
one who is not much inferior, "*toogoo ho fow*,"
keep on your *fow*,—as we would say, keep on
your hat,—which compliment is generally accepted.
The king used frequently to tell Mr.

Mariner, that if he ever met any common fellow 292
with his head covered, he should immediately 565
knock him down. He A was, however, allowed, 626
like other foreigners, to wear a head-dress [609]
without any restriction, as being supposed [727]
to be governed by different gods, and accustomed
to different manners.

But to return to our subject: it may be noticed 634
that the form of the prince's marriage as 585
here related, and which, for the most part, was 177
according to the Hamoa custom, was not very different from that of the Tonga islands; but two parts of the Hamoa ceremony were in this instance left out, viz. the payment of something valuable to the brides' fathers by the bridegroom, such as bales of gnatoo, beads, &c. the brides being virgins: the other part of the ceremony, which in fact was to ascertain whether such payment was justly due, should have been performed by the bridegroom (digito admoto) when he had led his brides back into the house, and re-seated them on the bales of *gnatoo:* but the circumstance alluded to, not being thought by the natives of the Tonga islands consistent with delicacy, was accordingly omitted.

In the evening of the same day, the large 634
house on the *malái* was lighted up with flam- 585
beaus. Singers and dancers of Hapai assem- 177
[431]

A [Mariner--Analyst]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

missed them, and they paddled away immediately for that part of the island where the great fortress was situated. As the expedition passed a point about five miles to the southward of the fort, a number of natives were seen on the beach, painted and dressed after the manner of war, and armed with clubs and spears; they menaced the visitors with every martial gesture, furiously splashing up the water with their clubs, and shouting the war-whoop loudly and repeatedly. When they had proceeded a little farther, there came up to them a canoe from the garrison, with a warrior named Ta e Tangata: he wore a turban* on his head, and stated that he came, with leave from Toe Oomoo, to enquire if any of Toobó Nuha's murderers were on board, for he was ready, he said, to fight them, and lay down his life in honour of that great and matchless chief. Finow, in answer, told him the purpose of his coming, and that there were none of Toobó Nuha's murderers on board, and as to himself, he was perfectly well disposed to make a peace, and, whatever his enemies 669 728 [634] 728 634 669

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* It will be recollected, that turbans are only worn by daytime, when within sight of an enemy, &c. see p. 158. This man, therefore, came as an enemy. This head-dress may be considered a signal of defiance, or, at best, of independence and equality. [292] [714]

669 leged against him, yet there was one at no
727 great distance from him for whom so much
276 could not be said. The god having conde-
787 scended to declare this, left his priest, and the
latter arose and went away; the company then
793 broke up. Finow pretended to take no notice
of what the priest declared, not wishing the
circumstance to be much noticed by others.

The following day an adopted son of Finow
669 brought him secret intelligence that he had
634 heard that several men had been sent off at dif-
565 ferent times, by Mappa Haano, to the fortress
687 of Felletoa, to concert with the enemy on the
558 subject of revolt, and that this chief had the in-
tention of doing what Lioofau had been un-
[292] justly accused of and imprisoned for. The king
immediately sent for Mappa Haano, who obeyed
[301] the summons, and came drest up in mats, with
[576] green leaves round his neck, (marks of humi-
[793] liation and fear) attended by a priest. When
669 they arrived opposite Finow's house they sat
634 down before it; then the priest rose and ad-
565 vancing nearer to Finow, who was seated just
687 within the eaves of the house, he again sat
558 down before him, and stated that Mappa Haano
793 had requested his intermediation, to express for
him the sentiments of self-accusation with
which he felt himself oppressed, and his ac-
knowledgment of the justice of his fate, if Fi-

669 over his fortune and welfare, and that this god
634 would take care that such pernicious attempts,
on the part of the disgraced chief, should not
565 affect the other chiefs of his army, or if they
687 did, that he should be made acquainted with it
558 by the priest.—The company now dispersed.

After this period Mappa Haano always wore
565 mats as significant of his degraded state. He
558 seldom attended any public ceremonies or as-
292 semblies, because it obliged him to sit along
with the common people, and he could not brook, on such occasions, to feel so much his inferiority to other chiefs who formerly were his equals. It must not be supposed that he always wore these mats from pure humility, but rather from fear, for had he appeared without them, Finow might have been angry, and death might have been the consequence.

There being now every day some desertion or
669 another from either army to the opposite one, the
687 king issued orders that every deserter from the
634 enemy should be put to death, the same as if he
had been a deserter from himself. This he did the better to avoid all communication between the two contending armies.

For some time past several of Finow's men
669 had been killed in different instances, by three
726 or four of the enemy, under the command of
a warrior named Moteitá, a most expert and

669 688 782 783 one of the men who were in search of it, he took it up in his arms, smiling with delight at being taken notice of. Its poor mother wanted to follow, but was held back by those about her; on hearing its mother's voice it began to cry, but, when it arrived at the fatal place of its execution, it was pleased and delighted with the band of gnatoo that was put round its neck, and, looking up in the face of the man who was about to destroy it, displayed in its beautiful countenance a smile of ineffable pleasure; such a sight inspired pity in the breast of every one: but veneration and fear of the gods was a sentiment superior to every other, and its destroyer could not help exclaiming, as he put on the fatal bandage, *O iaoοὲ chi vale!* (poor little innocent!) Two men then tightened the cord by pulling at each end, and the guiltless and unsuspecting victim was quickly relieved of its [292] [301] painful struggles. The body was then placed upon a sort of hand-barrow, supported upon the shoulders of four men, and carried in a procession of priests, chiefs, and mataboöles clothed in mats, with wreaths of green leaves round their necks. In this manner it was conveyed to various houses consecrated to different gods, before each of which it was placed on the ground, all the company sitting behind it, except one priest, who sat beside it, and prayed

669 them to negotiate, and if they succeeded, it
634 would afford him, he said, at least one great
728 gratification, viz. the opportunity of again re-
newing his friendship with his aunt Toe Oo-
793 moo, and paying her that respect which her
superior relationship required.

The day after the last conference, the priests
[301] accordingly dressed themselves in mats, with
[292] wreaths of green leaves round their necks as
[577] tokens of humility, not towards the enemy, but
the gods, as fulfilling a commission sacred in its nature. Thus equipped, they set out on their way to Felletoa. In the mean time, Finow gave orders that none of his men, if they met with a party of the enemy, should commit any act of hostility, but should endeavour on all occasions to avoid them by as speedy a retreat as possible, for as the gods had admonished him to endeavour to make a peace, and the priests were actually fulfilling that endeavour, any act of hostility might defeat their purpose.

The priests went four or five different times to hold conferences with the chiefs of Felletoa before they could bring about a reconciliation. For although the old men seemed willing enough to listen to terms of accommodation, influenced perhaps by their prejudice in favour of Finow as their lawful king, yet the young and spirited warriors, who saw clearly enough

into the artful character of Finow, with much 669
less of the above prejudice, constantly objected 634
to make peace with a man on whose honour 728
and integrity they thought it impossible to rely 793
with any degree of certainty, and who would again give room for a quarrel with the Vavaoo people whenever it suited his purpose. This was their real thought, and perhaps a just one: though they did not express their sentiments with such latitude to the priests: to these they merely objected their apprehensions, that in the event of a peace, Finow would, at some fit opportunity, wreak his vengeance upon them personally for having fought against him. At length, however, they said that as their lives were not a matter of so much consequence as the peace and happiness of Toe Oomoo and her people generally, they were willing to withdraw their objections, that the affair might be speedily settled according to the wishes of the older chiefs. The priests now returned to Neafoo with the warmest assurances from the chiefs of Felletoa, that they would pay Finow an amicable visit the following day.

The next morning the chiefs and warriors of 669
Felletoa, with several women, were seen coming 728
towards Neafoo, advancing two and two, all [292]
armed, painted and decorated with streamers, [431]
forming altogether a very beautiful and ro-

669 mantic procession, bringing with them abund-
728 ance of gnatoo, yams, &c. as presents to their
[292] relations. In this way they entered the fortress
of Finow, and came into the king's presence on
[431] the *malái*, where he was seated with his chiefs
[431] and matabooles. The Vavaoo people then laid
down their spears, which were afterwards shared
out to three of Finow's principal chiefs, who
again shared them out to all those below them
[276] in rank*. They seated themselves round the
[565] *malái*, and cava was prepared, the young chiefs
and warriors of Felletoa waiting on the com-
[701] pany†. All this time Finow's men were un-
armed‡, (agreeably to the custom on such occasions) but by his orders the greater part remained at their houses where their arms were deposited, for he was upon his guard lest his guests had some stratagem to play: but he had merely signified to his men, that it would be better for them to remain at their houses, as it

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[*] Mr. Mariner believes this to be always the case on such occasions; but this was the only instance of a peace formally established, that ever happened while he was there.

[†] It is an honourable office to assist at cava parties, it is therefore generally filled by young chiefs.

[‡] The visitors come armed for the sake of parade, giving up their arms afterwards as presents; those that receive them must be unarmed as a proof of their amicable disposition, and that they do not mean to get them in their power by stratagem.

669 sign the government of the Hapai islands to
728 Toobó Tóa, who was to send him annual tri-
[634] bute.

When the cava was finished the company
rose up, and the Vavaoo party returned to Fel-
letoa, to prepare an entertainment for the Ha-
pai people the following day.

634 Early the next morning all the chiefs, mata-
669 booles, and warriors of Neafoo, painted and de-
728 corated themselves with streamers, and put on
541 mats, in token of Finow's inferiority as a rela-
[292] tion to his aunt Toe Oomoo, chief of the for-
[304] tress of Felletoa. They took spears in their
[604] hands, and, thus equipped, marched out of
[431] Neafoo, two and two, with Finow at their head,
carrying with them presents for their relations
634 in the opposite garrison. In this order they
entered Felletoa, and proceeded to the *malái*,
669 where all the chiefs and matabooles of Toe
728 Oomoo were seated ready to receive them. A
604 quantity of hogs, yams, and fowls, were depo-
sited in the middle of the circle, at the upper
end of which a place was left vacant for the
king to preside in, for, his aunt not being there,
[276] he was the greatest chief present. Had Toe
[574] Oomoo been also present, she must have pre-
sided, at the head of the circle, and the king,
as her inferior relation, must have seated him-
self opposite to her, on the outside of the cir-

669 727 728 643 brother Toobo Toa, (chief of the Hapai islands,) that being weary of his unquiet and harassing life at Tonga, and being desirous to settle at Hapai, he wished his brother to petition the king in his behalf; and to obtain, if possible, his pardon for having fought against him at Nioocalofa, and to procure leave for himself and his chiefs and matabooles to reside at Hapai, and be henceforth tributary to him. This message was brought to Toobo Toa by a chief and two young matabooles, as before stated. Toobo Toa having communicated this request of his brother and his followers to the king, the latter, after a little consideration, gave his consent that they should reside at the Hapai islands, upon condition that Toobo Toa would keep a strict eye upon his brother's conduct, and be answerable for him, which was immediately agreed to. Toobo Toa thereupon got ready a large canoe, and proceeded to Hihifo to receive his brother, who came on board with all his chiefs and choice warriors; the remainder of his attendants followed afterwards in another canoe. Having touched, in their way, at the Hapai islands, they proceeded on to Vavaoo, to pay their respects to Finow, and to receive his pardon.

[796] [292] [593] [554] As soon as the king heard of their arrival at Vavaoo, he repaired with all his chiefs and ma-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

tabooles to the house on the *malái* at Neafoo, 643 669
having, besides their usual dress, small mats 727
round the middle, significant of its being a 728
solemn occasion, and out of respect, too, for 796
Toobo Malohi (although he came as an humble 292
suppliant), for he was a very great chief, superior [593]
even to Toobo Toa, as being his elder brother. [554]
Toobo Malohi being informed that the [301]
king was already seated in the large house on [824]
the *malái*, ready to receive him, he and his followers, [576]
being all dressed in large mats, expressive
of their very great respect, with leaves
of the *ifi* tree round their necks as a mark of
submission, went forth, with due sentiments,
thus habited, and accompanied by a priest, to a
house dedicated to Tali-y Toobó, and sat down 643
before it. The priest then addressed the divine 669
spirit that was supposed to reside there, to 727
the following purpose: "Here thou seest the 728
"men who have come from Tonga to implore 796
"thy pardon for their crimes; they have been 793
"rebels against those chiefs who hold power [782]
"from divine authority, but, being sorry for
"what they have done, they hope that thou
"wilt be pleased to extend thy protection towards
"them for the future." The priest then [824]
rose up, and laid a piece of cava root under the [788]
eaves of the house: after which he proceeded
towards Finow, with the suppliants all follow-

fashion, but partly according to that, partly 593
agreeably to the custom of Hamoa, and partly 634
according to a fancy of his own. After the 764
body was washed and anointed with oil, it was 766
wrapped up in fourteen or fifteen yards of fine [177]
East India embroidered muslin, which had formerly belonged to one of the officers of the Port au Prince. It was next laid in a large cedar chest, which had been made on board the same ship, for the use of Mr. Brown, out of some cedar planks taken in a prize. Over the body were strewed wreaths of flowers, made for the purpose by her female attendants.
Orders were now issued by Finow, that nobody [292]
should wear mats, (although it was customary [301]
on such solemn occasions,) but should dress [177]
themselves in new tapas (this is the Hamoa custom); and instead of *ifi* leaves round their necks, he ordered that they should wear wreaths of flowers, (this was an idea of his own,) as if dressed for some occasion of rejoicing. The chest was placed on two large bales of *gnatoo*, in the middle of the house, and the body laid thus in state for the space of twenty days; during which time Moóunga Toobó, Finow's principal wife, and all her female attendants, remained constantly with the body. In [533]
the course of the first night the mourners broke out in a kind of recitative, like that on occasion

634 sive to the gods. It may appear strange that
565 Voona was a greater chief than the son of the
king, yet it is a frequent occurrence, that the
king is chosen from a family not of the highest
rank, on account of his superior wisdom or military
skill, and this was the case with the present
royal family; so that the king is often
obliged to pay a certain ceremonious respect
(hereafter to be noticed) towards many other
chiefs (even little children), who are greater
nobles than he.

634 The company were now all seated, habited
in mats, waiting for the body of the deceased
764 king to be brought forth. The mourners (who
763 are always women, consisting of the female relations,
[562] widows, mistresses, and servants of the
deceased, and such other females of some rank,
who choose, out of respect, to officiate on the
occasion), were assembled in the house, and
seated round the corpse, which still lay out on
[292] the bales of *gnatoo*. They were all habited in
large, old, ragged mats, the more ragged, the
more fit for the occasion, as being more emblematical
of a spirit broken down, or, as it were,
[304] torn to pieces by grief. Their appearance was
calculated to excite pity and sorrow in the
heart of any one, whether accustomed or not to
such a scene: their eyes were swollen with the
last night's frequent flood of grief, and still

" men feel when they view the work of their 765
" own hands thriving daily: and, whilst eating, 634
" when they reflect that their labour has been 829
" repaid by the increase of their stores: there- 537
" fore let us (chiefs and attendants of chiefs) 241
" apply ourselves, as we have nothing else to
" do, to agriculture: follow my example; I
" will order a piece of ground to be cleared,
" and, during the next rain, I will assist in
" planting it with *hiabo.*"

No other circumstances worthy of note hap- 765
pened during the twenty days concluding the 634
burial ceremony. On the tenth day, those who [292]
were not relations of the deceased, nor constituted his household, wore a sort of half mourning; that is to say, under their mats they wore a piece of *gnatoo*, not to be seen, but merely to be more comfortable to the skin than the mats, which, on these occasions, are not of the finest
texture. After the twentieth day they wore [291]
their ordinary dress, and went to their proper
habitations; so did also the relations of the de- [292]
ceased, but then these wore mats for about two months afterwards, though with *gnatoo* under them.

We now come to speak of the transactions of the twentieth day, which concludes the whole ceremony.

Early in the morning of this day, all the rela-

668 the better to convince them of this, he feigned
754 to imagine that the bits of buried gnatoo, &c.
634 must have been hidden there by some dogs in
661 their play: by expressing himself in this way,
he was in hopes of emboldening the conspirators
to proceed with less caution in their plan, under
the idea that he was off his guard. All this
precaution, however, and studied policy, were
unnecessary, as no signs of conspiracy became
evident, and, perhaps, no conspiracy existed.
712 In the mean time, the building and fortifying
the garrison with extra ditches went on with
dispatch, and, in a short time, was completed
to the perfect satisfaction of Finow.

486 Shortly after the fortress was finished, a canoe
628 arrived from the Hapai islands with Tongamana,
634 a chief of the line of Tooitonga, who
651 came from Toobó Toa, with a request to know
643 how the *inachi* * was to be sent to Tooitonga,
seeing that Finow had declared that no communication
whatever was to be kept up with Hapai.
[292] As all on board were habited in mats,
[301] with leaves of the ifi tree round their necks, as
a token of submission, and that they came upon
486 a religious duty, they were permitted to land.
628 After having presented cava to several consecrated
634 houses, they came before Finow, and

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765 * The annual tribute of the first fruits of each island, to
276 Tooitonga.

small canoes to the outer islands of Hafooloo 486
How*, to watch the arrival of Toobo Toa, and 628
to return with immediate notice of this event 634
to Vavaoo, which they did as soon as they saw 765
three canoes which hove in sight. The notice [103]
being given to Finow, he sent back several of
his own canoes to meet those of Toobó Toa,
with orders that the Hapai canoes should not
be allowed to advance farther than the neighbouring
islands, but that they should bring
Toobó Toa and his party along with them up
the creek to Feiletoa, in the Vavaoo canoes.
This was accordingly done, and Toobo Toa,
and about sixty of his warriors, were landed
near the fortress. They were all dressed in 634
mats; their heads were shaven, and the leaves 765
of the *ifi* tree were round their necks, according [292]
to the custom at burials. They were followed [301]
by several boys bearing a few spears, arrows, [302]
and clubs. They proceeded immediately
to the grave of the late How, and after having [304]
sat before it a little time, with their heads
bowed down, Toobo Toa arose, and taking a
sharp club from one of the boys, inflicted several
very severe wounds on his own head, calling
out to the deceased to witness this proof of his
love and fidelity, and declaring aloud that his

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* The name given to Vavaoo and all its surrounding little islands.

793 their being priests, unless when actually inspired,
787 and hold no known conferences together,
171 as an allied body. Mr. Mariner frequently associated
554 with them, knew their general conduct,
and inquired the opinion of all classes of the
727 natives respecting them; and, after all, has no
124 reason to think that they combine together for
the purpose of deceiving the people. He found
nothing that he conceived very remarkable in
their general character: if there was any difference
between them and the rest of the natives,
it was that they were *rather* more given
to reflection, and somewhat more taciturn, and
probably greater observers of what was going
292 forward. They have no peculiarity of dress to
distinguish them. The most remarkable of their
793 prophecies, if they deserve that name, are those
787 mentioned vol. i. on the occasion of a young
chief being inspired by a female spirit from Bolotoo;
and on that of the illness of Finow and
his daughter, when one became better the other
793 became worse, as the priest foretold. The priests
565 associate with the chiefs as much as other matabooles
643 and mooas; and, although Tooitonga
and Veachi are considered divine chiefs, still
they have no more to do with the priests, nor
are they any otherwise connected with them,
nor related to them, than are other chiefs.

128 Having thus far given a general view of the

is employed in preparing and collecting the 651
yams and other provisions, such as fish, cava 796
root, and *mahoá*, and getting ready mats,
gnatoo, and bundles of *mellecoola:* but the yams
only are to be carried in the procession about
to be described.

The sun has scarcely set when the sound of [202]
the conch begins again to echo through the
island, increasing as the night advances. At 651
the Mooa, and all the plantations, the voices of 796
men and women are heard singing *Nófo booa* 533
tegger gnaobe, *óooa gnaobe*, Rest thou, doing no
work; thou shalt not work. This increases till
midnight, men generally singing the first part of
the sentence, and the women the last, to produce
a more pleasing effect: it then subsides
for three or four hours, and again increases as
the sun rises. Nobody, however, is seen stirring [202]
out in the public roads till about eight
o'clock, when the people from all quarters
of the island are seen advancing towards the
Mooa, and canoes from all the other islands are
landing their men; so that all the inhabitants
of Tonga seem approaching by sea and land,
singing and sounding the conch. At the Mooa 651
itself the universal bustle of preparation is seen 796
and heard; and the different processions entering [292]
from various quarters, of men and women, [411]
all dressed up in new *gnatoos*, ornamented with

651 red ribbons and wreaths of flowers, and the
796 men armed with spears and clubs, betoken the
[292] importance of the ceremony about to be performed.
Each party brings in its yams in a
[411] basket, which is carried in the arms with great care, by the principal vassal of the chief to whom the plantation may belong. The baskets are deposited on the *malái* (in the *Mooa*), and some of the men begin to employ themselves in slinging the yams, each upon the centre of a pole about eight or nine feet long, and four inches diameter. The proceedings
651 are regulated by attending matabooles. The
796 yams being all slung, each pole is carried by
788 two men upon their shoulders, one walking before the other, and the yam hanging between
769 them, ornamented with red ribbons. The procession begins to move towards the grave of the last Tooitonga (which is generally in the neighbourhood, or the grave of one of his family will do), the men advancing in a single line, every two bearing a yam, with a slow and measured pace, sinking at every step, as if their burden were of immense weight*. In the mean time the chiefs and matabooles are seated in a semi-

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* And as if meaning to express, "How bountiful are the "gods, to give us so good a harvest, and provide us with "yams so large and heavy!"

peated the fourteen following nights, and as 766
punctually cleared away by sun-rise every morning. 765
No persons but the agents are allowed to 514
be witnesses of these extraordinary ceremonies,
at least it would be considered highly indecorous
and irreligious to be so. On the sixteenth [292]
day, early in the morning, the same females
again assemble; but now they are dressed up
in the finest *gnatoo*, and most beautiful Hamoa
mats, decorated with ribbons and with wreaths
of flowers round their necks: they also bring
new baskets, ornamented with flowers, and
little brooms very tastefully made: thus equipped,
they approach, and act as if they had the
same task to do as before, pretending to clear
away the dirt, though no dirt is now there, and
take it away in their baskets. They then return
to the *mooa*, and resume their mourning
mats and leaves of the *ifi* tree. Such are the [416]
transactions of the fifteen days; every day the
ceremony of the burning torches being also
repeated. The natives themselves used to express
their regret that the filthy part of these
ceremonies was necessary to be performed, to
demonstrate their great veueration for the high
character of Tooitonga, and that it was the duty
of the most exalted nobles, even of the most
delicate females of rank, to perform the meanest
and most disgusting offices, rather than the sa-

have been transplanted, in order to give them 285
a finer and softer texture. [291]

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the 285
fow or *olongá*, worn chiefly by people in canoes 237
to keep out the wet, as the water does not damage [292]
them : they appear as if they were made
of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he
saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made
of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed [177]
that it must have been procured from some
horses that Cook had left there.

Fálla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves 285
of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of 513
various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole length of the house.

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the 285
fa; they are very strong and light. [501]

Tacapow,* mats for flooring houses, made of [352]
the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Tattów, a sort of matting, plaited in a very [353]
ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut leaves: they are used to screen the sides of houses from the weather.

Cato, baskets: these are of various construc- [415]
tions; sometimes of a sort of matting made [531]
with the leaves of the *fa*, *paoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.; at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk

[May 18, 1777]

175 “ them great credit. Near the close, the back
648 “ rank divided, came round, and took the place
545 “ of the front, which again resumed its situation,
535 “ as in the first dance; and when they finished,
533 “ the drums and chorus, as before, went off.

“ Three drums (which at least took two, and
“ sometimes three men to carry them), were
“ now brought in; and seventy men sat down,
[292] “ as a chorus to the third dance. This consisted
“ of two ranks, of sixteen persons each,
“ with young Toobou at their head, who was
“ richly ornamented with a sort of garment
[293] “ covered with red feathers. These danced,
“ sung, and twirled the *paggi* as before; but
“ in general much quicker, and performed so
“ well, that they had the constant applauses of
“ the spectators. A motion that met with particular
“ approbation was one in which they
“ held the face aside as if ashamed, and the
“ *paggi* before it. The back rank closed before
“ the front one, and that again resumed its
“ place, as in the two former dances; but then
“ they began again, formed a triple row, divided,
“ retreated to each end of the area, and left
175 “ the greatest part of the ground clear. At
648 “ this instant two men entered very hastily, and
545 “ exercised the clubs which they use in battle.
535 “ They did this by first twirling them in
411 “ their hands, and making circular strokes be-

[May 18, 1777]

"fore them with great force and quickness; 175
"but so skilfully managed, that, though standing 648
"quite close, they never interfered. They 545
"shifted their clubs from hand to hand with 535
"great dexterity; and, after continuing a little 411
"time, kneeled, and made different motions,
"tossing the clubs up in the air, which they
"caught as they fell; and then went off as
"hastily as they entered. Their heads were [292]
"covered with pieces of white cloth, tied at
"the crown (almost like a night-cap) with a
"wreath of foliage round the forehead; but
"they had only very small pieces of white
"cloth tied about the waists; probably that
"they might be cool, and free from every incumbrance
"or weight*. A person with a
"spear, dressed like the former, then came in,
"and in the same hasty manner; looking about
"eagerly, as if in search of somebody to throw
"it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the
"crowd in the front, and put himself in a
"threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike
"with his spear at one of them, bending the

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[177]

* This exhibition with the clubs, as well as the following one with a spear, are practices of Hamoa (the Navigator's Islands), at which the natives of that place are said to be very expert: they are occasionally adopted at Tonga by way of interludes, but they do not form an essential part of the above performance: the particular dress which these performers had on was the war dress of the Hamoa Islands.

his possessions, and in the most earnest manner 103
entreated him to accept of something. Being 571
thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi 173
chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *giè fow**, [292]
and this was the only article that the eloquence
and kindness of Finow could persuade him to accept of. The king left him with sentiments of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the orders that had been formerly given to prevent any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four years afterwards; but one day he was found lying on the ground, stretched out dead within his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day 512
it is usual to have another meal, when the [264]
chiefs receive a number of presents, of different [431]
kinds of provisions, from their dependents or [574]
friends, which the matabooles share out. In [521]
the afternoon some again join in conversation, [224]
others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening they have dancing and singing, which is 512
often continued till very late at night, on which 535
occasion they burn torches, each being held by [533]
a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. [372]
These dances are generally kept up for about
four hours after dark. When no dances are 512
513
372
357

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* A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 280.

766 764 312 Three persons, men or women indifferently, are in attendance at each hearth, sitting on three sides of it. One, called *takipo,* sits facing the direction in which the corpse is lying, and holding the torch, *fofongaimama,* horizontally over the sand, and pointing towards the corpse. No one sits on the side towards the body. This side is sacred (*toputapu*) and no one may pass on that side except a person of superior social rank (*fahu*) to the dead chief. To the left and right of the man holding the torch are two attendants (*feangai*) facing the torch. They keep the torch burning brightly by knocking the ash from it with little sticks. The ashes that fall to the sand they extinguish by brushing sand over it with their little sticks. When the torch, formed of the dry spathe of the coconut flower, is nearly burned out a new one is held alongside it until it is fairly alight. The old torch is then dropped on to the sand, and extinguished by the *feangai* brushing sand on to it with their little sticks. When one of the watchers is wearied, or desires a change, his place is silently taken by a fresh watcher. The silent crowds and the hundreds of lights make the ceremony singularly impressive.

When daylight comes the lights are kept burning until the first light has been extinguished (*lolo ae po*) by someone who is *fahu* to the deceased chief. A foreigner, being exempt from the tapu that surrounds the native, might also give this signal. On one of the mornings when the *takipo* was being kept for the late King George Tupou II a high chiefly lady who was *fahu* to the King and was being awaited to *lolo ae po* was late in arriving. The service of an Indian were just about to be requisitioned when the *fahu* lady came.

766 764 292 Everyone, of course, wears the *taovala,* the cincture of respect, over the ordinary clothing, except those who are *fahu* to the dead chief. The proper dress for the *fahu* is the piece of native cloth called *tapa ki vae*—that is, the end of the cloth at which the staining and stencilling are started. This smaller dress (*vala*) than ordinary is used by chiefly youths as a free-and-easy dress for sports.

766 764 539 [551] The following composition is a call on various localities to come and keep the vigil about the body of Nau, or a list of those who did come. It seems to be incomplete, as the manuscript ends with "etc." It is a list that might be continued indefinitely. The places mentioned are in Vavau. Nau is not an uncommon name, both of men and women. This particular Nau has not been identified. There is perhaps a slight balance of probability in favor of its being a woman rather than a man.

Exceeding pleasant the dear wind[1]
That blew on Teisina, and came
Straight on our spreading *takafalu.*[2]
The dear double-canoe of Nau and me,
There was our canoe-house
With upper story of wild hau,
Where went in and out,[3]
And cried to be carried to bathe
Tuoua and the mat *palatalu,*
A dear thing that beseemed Nau.
Tend the vigil fires ye hills of Vavau,
Start the watch Kafoa and Talau,

535 of the thighs, and with greater or less swayings of the body; but the main
movements are with the hands and arms. Captain Cook, with excellent
reason, praised the beauty of the Tongan women's hands. Hands and arms
are beautifully modelled, and the muscles are extraordinarily flexible and
well-controlled. The gestures, as in some other dances, may be imitative of
various activities, for example, sailing a boat, pulling up sails, sailing away,
pulling in a fish, sighting a far-off land. Or the movements may not be
so readily interpretable. But whatever the theme and the nature of the
movements, the rhythmic undulations of the swaying arms are fascinatingly
beautiful. So flexible and well-controlled are the muscles of the hands
that waves of movement are constantly rippling from wrists to finger-tips.

The *kailao* is a beautiful and picturesque dance. I have seen it per-
formed only once, by two groups of men, each led by a young girl. This
[292] dance is said to be an importation from Uvea. The performers, in addition
to the leaf girdles and rattles of dried beans on wrists and ankles, had head-
[299] dresses rather more elaborate than usual. All the dancers carried wooden
implements with long narrow blades, not unlike cricket bats, evidently a toy-
like property for the dance, but whether intended to represent clubs or
paddles is difficult to say. The dancers went through a number of elaborate
and difficult evolutions with these implements, feet keeping time to whirling
[533] hands and arms. The beating of the drum was quick, and the whole dance
most animated.

A Tongan has described to me an older form of *kailao* somewhat dif-
ferent. He said that all the performers sat down, and presently one jumped
up and brandished his stick, club or paddle, and then another would join
him, till all were engaged. It is surmised that the subjects were pictures
[293] of war or sailing. Pratt gives the Samoan cognate *ailao* as meaning "the
act of fencing with, or flourishing, a club," which suggests the probability
that war is the principal theme of this dance, and that the wooden imple-
ments represent clubs.

Most dances belong to great festivals; but one, the *tauolunga,* is seen on
less formal occasions. Nowadays it is sometimes danced at concerts con-
ducted on the European model. I have seen a *tauolunga* danced at a con-
cert by two young men, or boys, and one girl or young woman. The per-
formers move back and forth across the stage, hands, body, and feet all in
unison. The whole dance is full of grace and animation, the movements of
the male performers being more varied and animated than those of the girl.
535 In a concert hall the accompaniment is singing voices, clapping hands, or
533 piano; but of course there is no difficulty in dispensing with the piano. The
dancers do not sing. The following is a very popular tune for the *tauolunga.*

387. Maomao ki taovala: Ready, prepared with *taovala*. 539 292 183

The *taovala* is the girdle, usually a piece of mat, put round the waist before going into the presence of a chief. The phrase means to have the *taovala* always handy to be used whenever needed; hence to be prepared for any emergency that may arise.

388. Pule Taoa: Taoa finery. 539 291 177

Pule is literally "spotted," "variegated," as the design in some cloths, or the markings of a cowry shell. This expression is modern and is applied to an European print with a big, gaudy pattern. It is said that one day several women from Taoa, a village in Vavau, went into a store in Neiafu and bought some prints, apparently of rather striking designs. While they were still in the store a man came in and, seeing their purchases, remarked in the words of this expression "Taoa is going in for spots," and the phrase has stuck.

389. Tui momoa: Dry knee, that is, a knee that is hard and dry through exposure to the weather. 539 291 735

A woman's ordinary dress should descend below the knee; an exception is made of the festive dresses worn in dances and sometimes on other ceremonious occasions. This expression indicates primarily a woman so poor that she cannot afford a sufficiently broad piece of cloth for her waistcloth, and so has her knees exposed to the sun and rain and wind. It is used derisively of a poor person.

390. Vala kovi fie kofu silika: Bad loin-cloth wanting to be silk dress. 539 291 554

Evidently modern. The point is rendered plainer if the statement is correct that in the early days silk cost as much as £5 a yard. Used of a commoner who wants to act the chief.

FACIAL EXPRESSION AND GESTURES

391. Faka-alinga lelei: Making a fair showing. 539 828

This expression carries the implication that there are faults behind the pleasant exterior or that an amiable face may be the mask assumed by very unfriendly feelings.

392. Faka-pula-matai: Making eye swell. 539 152 201

Used of a very angry man, whose eyes protrude in his rage. May be used also of the victim of this rage, whose eyes may swell with vexation and grief, or who may even get a swollen eye through the physical application of the other man's anger; in this sense not unlike the English vulgarism of giving anyone a thick ear.

people resort for this purpose. They are frequently kept up till midnight, when performed in a chief's house, and sometimes till morning, by an interchange of performers, who alternately retire to rest, and rise again to dance. 175 595

So fond are they of this amusement that they dance almost on all occasions. However extravagantly they have mourned for the dead, they generally terminate their grief with this ceremony of joy: in which I have seen the women so eager that they have forgotten all sense of decorum and thrown off all incumbrance of dress for greater freedom and diversion. [165] [292]

This is the general mode of life at Tongataboo. They never rise, but the Kava is prepared, and distributed in the exact order I have described; and immediately the tackhangers call for the cooks in the Badoo, or Kitchen, who bring the baked yams, and present them to the guests. If there is no serious business for the chiefs, indolent slumbers, or the amusements of conversation and choice, fill up the middle part of the day, which is however sometimes diversified with boxing, or other athletic exercises; and luxurious festivities close the evening. 175 512

Such an indulgent life, however, is only in the power of the chiefs. The lower classes, as will be farther shown, are obliged to labour, not only for themselves, but for their superiors; and, after all, 175 565 [512]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

The bride, a fine woman of twenty three years of age, came soon after, at the head of three hundred women, who followed her in procession. Her dress was modest and elegant. A thin vest, neatly crimped, of a dark colour, which shewed her complexion to advantage, was fastened under her arms, and hung down to her waist, where it was bound close, by a skirt, riched with flowery ornaments of matting. 115 644 585 [292]

She walked at the distance of two or three paces before them; her carriage was graceful and majestic, yet modest, her eyes cast down with that diffident coyness and decorous timidity, which, notwithstanding the audacity of the age, so often heightens the charms of the daughters of Britain. [201]

As she entered the green before the fallee, or habitation, where the guests were all seated in comely rank and order, a female advanced from the company and taking her respectfully by the hand conducted her to her husband, and gracefully seated her by his side. The attendants then retired from her, and seated themselves in order with the guests, leaving the bride and bridegroom in a little space by themselves. The provisions were then plentifully distributed. After the repast, the bridegroom rose, advanced to the shore, and went on board the canoe. The three hundred women that attended her rose up after him, conducted the bride, in a procession to the shore, and four of them handed

287 464 571 461 [433) A group of say, sixteen women will make anything up to three hundred fathoms of bark cloth in one day's work. The length prepared is divided among all the women who shared in the work. Each household tries to keep from one to three hundred fathoms of cloth always on hand. This supply should last the household from one to four years, depending upon the size of the household, the number of gift occasions in which it participates, and the incidence of *tapu* mourning-occasions.

-287 531 [435] [426] The stencilling of prepared barkcloth is a laborious job. There are relatively few stencils to be found in Pangai today. In terms of money-value, a new stencil costs from three to five pounds to make, depending upon the intricacy of the required design. Stencils are often borrowed. With their return to the owner would go a gift of from twenty to fifty fathoms of bark cloth according to the acknowledged value of the stencil. Stencils newly made today show a wide variety of designs and motifs. Besides the more orthodox flower and geometrical designs, stencils may include motifs which range from imaginative conceptions of the Tongan flag to the names of the main streets in Nukualofa. Many [178) women in Pangai today are not bothering with stencils. They are decorating their bark cloth with freehand finger-painted designs. The orthodox Tongan dyes for bark cloth [386) give two colours only: black and a reddish-brown. Today some women find commercial dyes bought at the store less [178) troublesome and more pleasing to use. To the European eye these store-colours are often garish and crude as compared with the softness of the native dyes.

MAT-MAKING

285 The mats made by the Pangai women range from rough floor mats to the finer sleeping mats and, finest of all, the mats which function as skirts *(vala)*[10] to be worn on occasions

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291 292 285 [10] The *vala* which for shortness' sake we translate as "skirt" (though the word skirt is likely to call up quite the wrong semantic association), consists of a rectangular piece of bark cloth or cotton piece-goods or a fine mat. It is worn wrapped round the waist, hanging from waist to ankles or just above them. For ordinary wear men fasten the *vala* at the waist with a leather belt; for ceremonial wear, with a sennit belt. Men wear the *vala* for everyday use. Men and [576) women alike wear the ceremonial mat-*vala* on all occasions when respect and humility require symbolization.

when respect is due to a superior. The materials are 285
pandanus-leaves. The plaiting technique is typically Poly- [824]
nesian. The finest mats worn as *vala (ta'o vala falu)* are
very scarce in Pangai today. They are about eight feet by 285
six feet in size and plaited with twelve to fourteen elements 294
to the inch. Such mats take an ordinarily industrious woman [461]
from two to three years to complete. Few Pangai women
seem to have either the skill or the patience to make these [178]
mats today. They have therefore a great scarcity value.
They are worn *only* on Sundays, special festive occasions or 285
when meeting a superior. When not in use they are kept 292
in safe, secret places to avoid any possibility of theft.

Many of the fine mats worn today have been inherited. [428]
Thus one woman has inherited hers from her mother's
mother and expects in turn to pass it on to her own daughter.
Both men and women wear these fine mats fastened with a
length of braided or twisted sennit termed *ta'o vala kafa.* [283]
The sennit is worn round the waist on top of the mat. There
appears to be no single and specific technique for making
this sennit "belt." Each man makes his according to what
skill he has at his command.

As the fine mats become rarer still in the village, it is 292
likely that there will be developed some new material 178
through the use of which respect may be symbolized. 576
Possibly one of the finer and more expensive commercial
cloths will be adapted to this end and will become as
necessary an item of clothing as the fine mat is today.

EXPERTS

For most of the work activities of this Tongan village 463
no more expert knowledge is required than is possessed by the average man or woman. He or she is capable of doing the task that is required or of acting as leader of group-work. Some types of work however, require the leadership and direction of a recognized expert (generically, *tufunga*), one who has special knowledge, acquired through training, of the relatively complex techniques involved. In Pangai today there are four recognized experts in the making of European-style houses, one expert in the building of Tongan houses; one expert undertaker; four expert dug-out canoe makers; two experts in the art of making the built-up plank-canoe;

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boy was whipped so severely that he ran away from Bovai's 861
household and sought refuge in the house of a relative.

Within the children's groups themselves, there appears 857
to be a well-defined beating-order based on seniority, 861
independent of sex and almost independent of measures of
physical strength. A younger child takes the whippings of 561
those older and in turn passes them on to those younger
still. This principle of seniority runs also through child-labour. The rule seems to be: never do any task demanded
by an elder unless it is impossible to find someone younger
whom you can force to do the job instead. Thus, if our
houseboy, aged ten, was about, our two husky housegirls,
aged seventeen, spent much of their time and energy finding
tasks for him to carry out. They would rant and complain
and occasionally beat the boy until the job was done to their
satisfaction. If on the other hand, the girls were absent 857
and the houseboy with a friend was about, then it was the 561
houseboy's turn to recline upon a kerosene tin and order his
young friend to light the fire or to fetch water. The friend
did as he was directed, on pain apparently of losing the
immediate favour of the older boy. We had, on numerous 857
occasions, opportunity to suggest to all concerned that a job 561
to be done could often be done easier and quicker by the
older youth rather than by an ordered-about younger person. 123
The suggestion was obviously incomprehensible to our
helpers. They would stop to agree with us. But immediately
after the commands and orders would be resumed. The 857
principle of seniority is generally well-defined in Tongan
society at large. It is to be expected therefore, that it should 561
in some measure be made the basis for the organization of
interpersonal relations in the society of children and youths.

Children of all ages from infancy onward wear clothes. 855
The minimum clothing for a young boy is pants with or without a shirt. Older boys generally wear a shirt or vest 291
together with pants or *vala*, the latter always being worn (292)
for church or festive occasions. Girls always wear dresses.
In swimming, boys would go naked whereas girls invariably (481)
swam in their clothes.

PUBERTY

There is no ceremony connected with a girl's first 881
menstruation. She tells her mother who in turn explains

585 This may be best emphasized by outlining the formal
[128] marriage ceremony and then giving a short case-study to
show the limit of variations on the pattern.

In any formal marriage, much preparation is concerned
585 with the collection of the necessary gifts, transfer of which
583 in the old days constituted the validation of the marriage
431 relationship and which today are still necessary if the
marriage is performed according to rule. These gifts are collected together by the father of the groom. They consist of a ceremonial skirt *(vala to'onga)*, six or more specially-made sleeping mats, quantities of bark cloth and clothing. The mats have taken years to make. They have been specially made for some future marriage and have been carefully stored away until needed. Relatives may be asked to contribute further fine mats, in which case they are later repaid with return-gifts of mats. The gifts are all brought together in the house of the groom's father and the bride and her relatives are invited to inspect the display. The groom's father must also bring together great quantities of food, pigs, and *kava*. This preliminary collection may well take a week or more to complete.

585 When all is ready, the groom's sisters escort the bride
to the groom's father's house. There the groom's mother
[292] dresses the bride in a *vala* which consists of a four-fathom
length of bark cloth. The bride returns to her own house, bathes and dries her body with the bark cloth *vala*. She again returns to the groom's father's house where the father has prepared a small feast. She is accompanied this time by her mother and her mother's sisters. All eat. Then the bride and groom together with a party of relatives go to Neiafu to secure the civil marriage-license. They return to
[793] Pangai, eat more food, and proceed to the church where
the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. The
[435] marriage license costs eight shillings, the marriage ceremony
whatever the groom can afford to give the pastor—ten shillings would be a more than adequate gift from the ordinary family. After this the groom goes to his father's
[292] house, the bride to her father's house where she dresses in
the ceremonial *vala* provided by the groom's father.

All meet again at the groom's father's house where the gifts of mats and bark cloth have been piled high outside

585 eat. Most of the party then returned to Pangai, but the
[574] bride and groom, chaperoned by Fa stayed in Toula until
evening. At this time, this second group returned to Pangai
together with the remainder of the bride's family. Mele,
[292] the bride, was wearing her ceremonial skirt, the rest of the
party carrying the sleeping outfit *(mohenga)* which is her
gift to her husband. This outfit consisted of two sleeping-
[513] mats, two small coverings of bark cloth, two pillows and a
[556] basket in which her ceremonial skirt will be kept (this
outfit, incidentally, is rather poor; a wealthier commoner
[565] girl would have at least twelve sleeping-mats in her outfit as
well as many fathoms of bark cloth).

In Pangai the wedding party met at Semisi's house (the
585 mother's brother of the groom). Tui's wife, Eniketi, brought
574 a small piece of bark cloth suitable for a skirt. This she
276 placed round the bride's waist after removing the one the
bride was already wearing. Semisi had meanwhile prepared a feast. It consisted of four large yams, four giant *taro*, and a small pig. While the food was cooking, a *kava*-circle was formed. It consisted of four women including the bride and eleven men, all relatives of the bride and groom. The groom Paula, pounded the root while the woman Loise made the *kava*. The cups of *kava* were called by the groom's mother's mother's sister's son. When the *kava* was finished, the oven was opened and all went outside to eat. This was about nine o'clock in the evening.

More *kava* was served inside the house. There was
[533] singing and solo-dancing by the bride's younger sister until
[535] two o'clock in the morning. When she finished dancing, the
younger sister was given a small bark-cloth skirt by Eniketi.
At this time all the *kava* was finished and the bride's group
585 returned to their own village of Toula. Tui and his wife
833 slept at one end of the house while the bride and groom
slept at the other end of the house. There was no intercourse on this night nor for the four following nights (five nights in all). Intercourse with a virgin is termed *fai hono api*, "to make or cultivate a plantation" (the more general term for intercourse being *unoho*)—an obvious reference to a metaphorical planting of seed in the woman—and in village theorizing, a groom shows his respect and affection for his bride by waiting five nights or six or longer for his

old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the 766
cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought 858
was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of 593
bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its 603
head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has [761]
overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, [765)
four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt. [292)
He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the 766
house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the 794
evening and all night long, members of the church, of the 782
family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs 858
the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church 766
attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in 858
their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. [794]
Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body [292)
of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother. There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the 765
mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*- 858
circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's 574
house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a 276
funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that 766
the mother's mother's house was too small for all the mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

moment of oratory itself. Should the assignment have been 000
to conduct service in a village other than Pangai, then the 794
conclusion to all this labour of love is a feast given 574
immediately after the service by one of the chief supporters 554
of this church. The lay-preacher is the guest of honour.
His is the first *kava* cup called, he is chosen to say the Grace.
Then, after the eating of much good food, the lay-preacher
begins his long walk back to Pangai accompanied by the
thanks of his hosts for the sermon and a material symbol
of these thanks in the form of a large root of *kava* or a good-sized basket of pork and other oven-baked foods.

The rewards and responsibilities of being a lay-preacher 794
are such as to appeal only to a few of the more sober and 554
older village men. Biukala, after passing a three-day written
and oral examination, found himself during our stay in the
village the proud possessor of his preacher's certificate. He
is a very serious and sober, hard-working Tongan, but he [123]
beamed under our congratulations and was very obviously
pleased with all the new possibilities of service and increased
village prestige that now opened before his wide-glancing
eyes. Only one major worry now filled his mind. He had 794
neither dark suit nor black shoes properly to costume himself 554
in answer to a preaching call. He was not particular, of 292 ●
course, about the fit of either suit or shoes. As long as his
feet could be squeezed into shoes, no matter what the agony, 177
for a two-hour service, as long as he could make pretense of
slipping into the suit, no matter whether the coat could be
buttoned or the trousers reached to his shins only, he would
be attired in clothing favoured by white missionaries. For
Biukala, such clothes, though hot to wear, a hindrance to
free movement and hard to get, definitely represented a
symbol both of his newly-gained village-status and of a
wishful longing to identify himself with the white man's
way of life. Later on, we were grateful to be able to help
Biukala grasp firmly this symbol of his desiring.

CONCLUSION 177

The culture of the village as it functions today is a 178
well-integrated blend of the old and the new. How much of
it is aboriginal Tongan culture and how much of it is derived
from western European culture is hard to say with any

At the present stage of technical development in the 177
social sciences, an index of acculturation is still to be dreamed [121]
about, not worked with. A brief survey of the present
culture of Pangai village might well suggest that some such
cultural elements as the following would come within the
scope of such an index. First of all, it is easy to see that
there has been more cultural transference in the field of
material culture than is obvious in social organization. Even
with material culture, however, many distinctions have to be
drawn before it is all clear what has been transferred from
the alien culture. Thus many non-aboriginal foods are 177
cultivated today—corn, melons, tomatoes, and the like. But 262
compared with the use of aboriginal staple vegetables, such
imported foods play a non-significant role in day to day
eating and have gained little significance as prestige foods
for feast-purposes. In the preparation of foods, the process 177
of cooking by boiling has been developed with the importation 252
of kerosene-tins. Boiled food is quicker to prepare than [415]
oven-baked food. Hence there is a tendency to eat boiled
food much of the time, using the native oven whenever something
a little out of the ordinary is desired. In the technique 177
of eating, there is wide use of a few simple plates, dishes, 264
and cups, but transferring food from container to mouth is
still done with the fingers. In the use of foods, therefore, 177
the present culture illustrates a blend of new and old. How 178
much of each is involved is difficult to characterize with any
simplicity of statement.

The position is similar with regard to clothing. There 177
is today an extensive use of clothing materials derived from 291
European culture. The village women all wear dresses. All 178
the men at one time or another wear cotton shirts, but for 292
most purposes and occasions as a lower garment they have
borrowed the use of cotton materials which they use as a
skirt *(vala)*, thus following aboriginal practice in the style
of the garment. For ceremonial or out-of-the-ordinary
occasions both sexes wear either in place of, or on top of
the ordinary lower garment, a fine mat skirt together with
a belt of plaited coconut sennit *(ta'ovala)*. In dressing up
for special church occasions, deacons or lay-preachers almost
invariably try to wear the white man's suit, shirt, sox, and
shoes, though none of the village men would wear any of

177 these clothes at any other time. Clothing therefore is a
178 blend of old and new, but when materials and clothing-styles
291 are both considered, it is again difficult to say in any simple
292 fashion whether current practice is more nearly related to
aboriginal or European custom.

178 Finally, to take but one more example, there has been
in the field of housing a transfer of both form and materials.
177 In the village today one sees frame houses with iron roofs
342 of European form, frame houses with iron roofs of Tongan
form, and thatched houses of aboriginal form and materials.
This refers only to dwelling- and sleep-houses. Separate
[343] cook-houses are uniformly of Tongan materials and form,
while the privies are uniformly frame structures of European
form. Is the present housing of the villager more European
than Tongan as regards both form and materials? Again
it is hard to give a simple answer.

177 Village attitudes in regard to both clothing and housing
may perhaps be best understood partly as an expression of a
1.78 substitution of new for old which, to use Parsons' phrase,
gives "an old habit of mind a new expression" or uses
"something new in accordance with something old."[34]

177 When we consider social and economic organization,
answers are equally hard. At one end of the scale, treat-
178 ment of disease is almost purely in terms of Tongan concepts
757 and materials with such exception, for instance, as in the
[304] control of a typhoid outbreak when quarantine is enforced
and European medical treatment often welcome, or in such
[743] surgical practice as the supercision of adolescent boys,
where the tendency in the village is to expect such surgery
to be carried out at the hospital in Neiafu. At the other end
177 of the scale might be placed religion, where Christianity has
178 been taken over lock, stock, and barrel, and there are
771 relatively few survivals of either knowledge or belief in
aboriginal religious forms. A Christian morality based on
Biblical teaching has also become the accepted morality of
the community.

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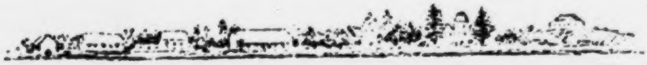
[113] [34] See Parsons, E. C., *Mitla, Town of the Souls*, Chicago, 1936, for a consideration of the role of this factor, among others, in culture-contact. Herskovits, M. J. has a brief but valuable discussion of this and other studies of acculturation in his book, *Acculturation*, New York, 1938.

798 geysers as each heavy sea forced the water into the cave-
167 like tunnels in the reef; between the main island and
[133] picturesque Eua; through an intricate channel among the
reef islets, until some houses showed white against the thick mass of palms. This was Nukualofa. In the sunlight every colour was intense—the blue of the sea, the white of the foam and coral-sand, and the green of the vegetation.

[361] 

Nukualofa.

From the moment
[152] when the first land was sighted the exiles began to show
signs of anxiety, which increased with every throb of
798 the propeller. They got out mats from their bundles,
167 presumably in order to land neatly dressed; but, to our
292 surprise, we saw that the outer mat petticoats they
576 were putting on were impossibly dirty and ragged. Not
ragged enough, however, to satisfy their critical taste, for as we neared the shore they began nervously to tear and unravel the edges of these filthy garments, stopping at times to inspect their progress towards disreputability. We had yet to learn that a Tongan expresses humility, repentance, and respect for dignities by the raggedness of his attire. The High Commissioner's advice regarding their demeanour on arrival had not been lost upon them.

798 We were boarded by the Collector of Customs and the
167 Vice-Consul, and while we were still talking to them, two
797

which this would have entailed. The one given by 643
Tukuaho was a useful one, and for the present I became 645
to the Tongans not a Minister of the Crown, but "*Koe
tagata fakahinohino*" (The expounder—of the dark ways
of civilised man).

The Privy Council over, we had time to look about us.
The island at this point is barely half a mile wide: every 133
rood of it seems to be under cultivation, from the back of 311
the town to the edge of the rocks on the Liku upon which
the ocean-rollers, driven before the steady trade-wind, beat
unceasingly. The Europeans of the place live in a row of 563
stores on the beach, each hungry for copra, each fearing 366
to give the natives credit, yet not daring to refuse lest [452]
they take their custom to a neighbour; and each, when
he has given credit, mortified by seeing his debtor pass
his store to sell his copra to a hated rival. There is the
agent of the great Hamburg firm, the agent for M'Arthur
& Co., a free-lance or two, a carpenter, and the Customs
officer of the port, who brings up a large family on £100
a-year. The only friendships in this heterogeneous society 563
are mere alliances against a common foe, and as they are
all by instinct against the Government, and can now have
the exciting sport of setting the king against his Ministers,
there is something very like reconciliation among them.

On Sunday we went to church in a driving rain-storm, 796
but, notwithstanding the weather, the little building was
filled. The women in their native finery looked infinitely [292]
more respectable than their brothers and husbands, who
had donned threadbare coats and trousers in honour of
the day, but had stopped short of shoes. The king was [643]

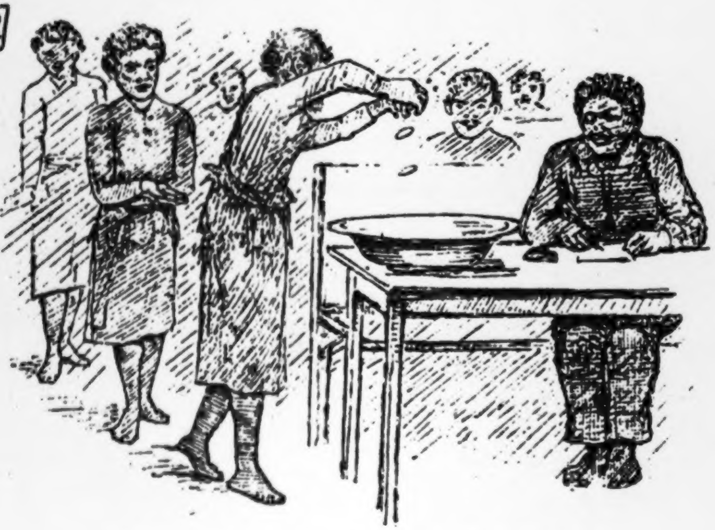
794 myself from the others by sheltering behind the promise I had given him not to contribute to any plate but his. Their method was ingenious. The tout took care to approach his victim in the evening when the house was full of people. He would remark that Pita (a neighbour) had promised two dollars this year, and would hint that he scarcely supposes the victim will allow himself to be outdone by such a one as Pita! The unfortunate man, constrained by false shame, promises more than he can afford; the amount is noted in a book, and has to be found by importunity or petty larceny.

As the day drew nearer we were set upon by numbers 794 of the faithful, including our convict groom, who came to 123 borrow money to give to the Church. For these I had but one form of argument — forcible if not altogether reverent. They were, I said, proposing to give my money to the Church — not their own; and as it was extremely unlikely that they would ever pay me back, and therefore either I or the Church would have to go without the money, I thought the Church was better able 794 to afford the loss. Cynics among the traders even went the length of declaring that the *fakamisonali* is always accompanied by the disappearance of their ducks and fowls, which may generally be found in the yard of a rival trader living at a distance, who has innocently bought them from a native bent upon contributing his mite to the Church. This is no doubt a slander.

796 On the appointed day the whole population donned [292] their gala trousers and petticoats, and streamed to the church, whose big bell was being tolled by relays of urchins. The pews were crowded: there was not even

796 proceedings. As the name of each patron was called she 794 rose in a stately manner and cast her contribution into the basin as a nest-egg. And now those who had promised contributions to the "plate" just announced, swaggered up the aisle and flung their coins into the basin. It was amusing to note the difference of gesture. Here a man would march up with an air of deep disdain and toss his

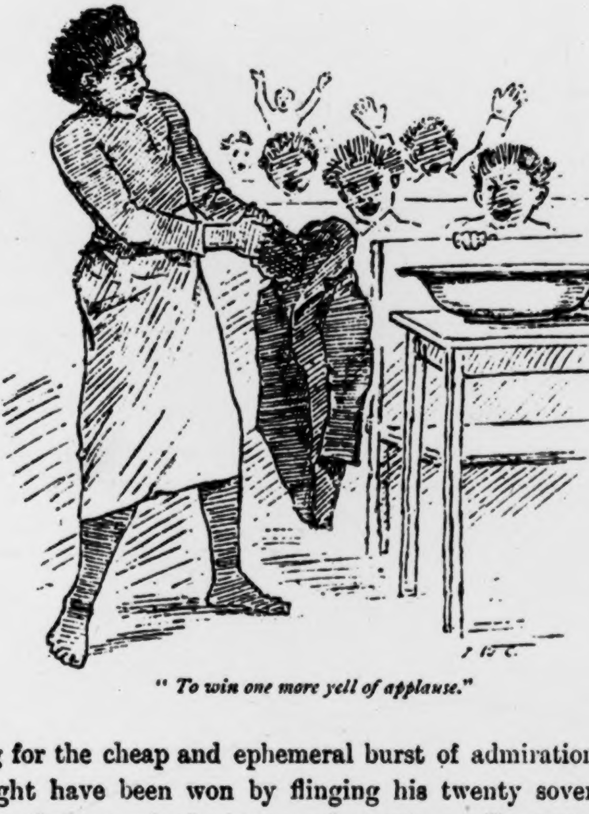
[292]



"Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

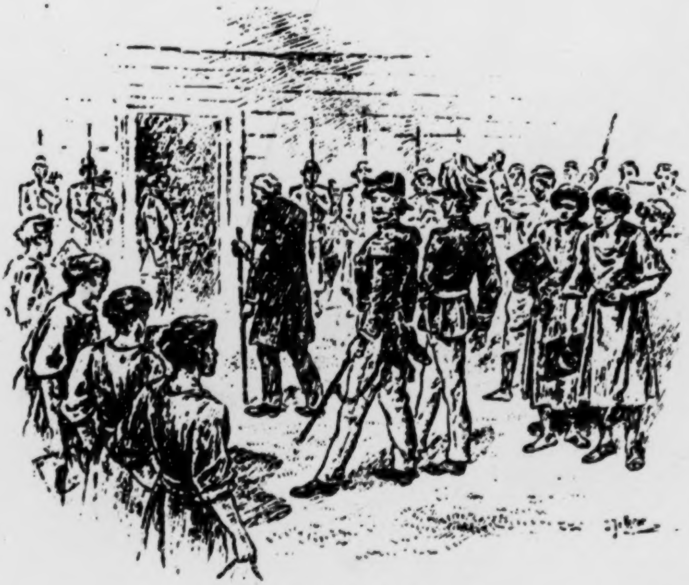
coins into the basin one by one. Another would approach with proud humility and dash down a handful of threepenny pieces with a crash, retiring as he had come amid the shouts of well-merited applause for the dramatic contrast between his bearing and his bounty. In earlier days, before the glare of publicity had checked the spontaneity of the *fakamisonali*, the real sensation, as in all well-

counted and the amount whispered to the presiding 794
teacher. In crying aloud the contents of each basin he 796
allowed pauses for the cheering, and artistically kept the
largest until the last. Mr M——, the deliverer of the
oppressed, showed a fine eye for effect. He cared nothing [563]
[292]
for the cheap and ephemeral burst of admiration that
might have been won by flinging his twenty sovereigns
into the same basin at once, but sat proudly erect while
his almoner, the butcher, distributed his munificence
equally between all the six basins, thereby winning to



"To win one more yell of applause."

strides into the room soberly clad, almost erect for all his 643
ninety years, the one dignified figure in all this motley 646
assembly of his subjects. A sovereign who wields
absolute power may well tire of pomp and circumstance
after his ninetieth year. He is followed by his aides-de- [644]
camp, George Finau, dressed in the uniform of a British [292]



[291]
[292]

"Koe Tu'i!"

admiral, and Taufaahau in that of a colonel of the Colonial Defence Forces. As the king takes his seat Taufaahau steps forward and unrolls the Speech from the Throne. May I be acquitted of the charge of disrespect to a reigning monarch if I remark that King George Tubou II., when still Taufaahau and aide-de-camp to his great-grand-

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902

OU9 Tonga OU9

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GEORGE TUBOU II., KING OF TONGA

To face page 170

[facing p. 170]

CHAPTER XV

FAREWELL

WE *had now been in Tonga for six weeks,* 648
and still the chiefs tarried. But the arrival 622
of the monthly steamer from New Zealand met 645
the difficulty. Through the kindly offices of my
friend Captain Crawshaw, who had frequently
done good service for the British Government
in similar emergencies, the whole of the rank
and fashion of the Friendly Islands was landed
on Nukualofa wharf within the week, and on
May 17th we rode to the palace to meet the
House of Lords assembled in council. I found
them sitting in the dining-room on rows of chairs
as at a charity meeting. The king presided,
seated on his throne at a table, and I was pro-
vided with a chair on his left. Some of the [292]
nobles arrived heated and late; they explained
to me afterwards that they had been turned
back by the sentry at the doors, and told to go
home and don black coats, which accounted for

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

648 the funereal aspect of the meeting. The only
622 absentees were bed-ridden; even poor old blind
645 Tungi had been wheeled to the palace in his
[292] bath-chair. Among the new arrivals by the
634 steamer was Mateialona, the most intelligent and
643 enlightened of all the chiefs. The son of an
645 elder brother of the king's mother, he would
795 have had an earlier claim to the throne but for
the bar sinister: the influence that he would
have derived from his birth and character has
been somewhat neutralised by his loyalty to the
Wesleyan Church, which made him choose exile
to Fiji rather than bow the knee to the Free
Church which Mr. Baker had set up. He is now
Governor of Haapai, and whatever hope there
may be of the regeneration of King George's
Cabinet is centred in him. With his portrait
before the reader it is scarcely necessary to say
that he is a man of great purpose and strength
648 of character. The proceedings were conducted
645 with the old-world courtesy and decorum which
[576] is fast dying out in Tonga, except among the
[565] men of high degree. This is not the place to
describe the intricacies of our long, but friendly
contest; it is enough to say that after nightfall
on the second day of debate all the main
648 difficulties had been overcome. As it was so late,
643

From my conversations with the Tongans I am not quite sure 794
where the votaries and the priests sat during consultation of a god,
but think that the people would sit round at a respectable distance on 209
the green sward in front of the temple, and the priests would sit
either just within or without the doorway. Descriptions seem to point
to some such arrangement as this, and it is rendered almost certain by
its thorough agreement with universal custom in the paying of a
ceremonial visit to an important chief. It is hardly necessary to add 195
that all references to the gods were couched in the most deferential
language, terms being employed which were applied to the Tui Tonga
and the Tamaha alone amongst mortals, though used now of the
constitutional king. Such words are naturally used to-day of the [178]
Deity in Christian worship.

Another common mark of deference in approaching a superior is 292
the wearing of a mat about the waist, girt on with a cinnet-rope belt.
This addition to the dress, called a *taovala*, is universally worn at the 576
fono, or assemblies where the people are gathered together to hear the
will of their chiefs, or of the government, or when approaching a
great chief, especially to ask a favour. It is also worn at funerals.
Undoubtedly it was worn by the people approaching one of the
ancient gods. A mark of still deeper humility is a wreath of the 301
leaves of the *ifi* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Tahitian chestnut) round the neck. 576
This badge of deference was used, for example, by supplicants suing
for their lives. To sit with the head bowed, and these leaves round [824]
the neck, was the strongest possible expression of humility and [516]
entreaty. Whether it were a common adjunct or not of worship I do
not know, but it would seem highly probable that it was employed at
all events on occasions of great stress. Mariner describes it as being
worn on a certain occasion in entering a temple, but in this instance
the wearers were pleading for their lives to a great chief.

Naturally the gods varied in power and influence. Some were 776
resorted to by the whole nation; others were the gods of powerful
chiefs and their tribes and clans, whilst others enjoyed a more limited 794
prestige, their devotees being the little group of allied households
which forms the usual social unit. There was nothing to prevent a 776
a man's setting up a tutelary deity of his own if he were so disposed.
The number of the gods, moreover, was liable to constant augmentation 769
by the deification of the illustrious or well-beloved dead. A
notable instance is Fakailoatonga, a chief related to Finau, of Vavau.
In his life-time Fakailoatonga was a famous warrior, and subdued, or 769
at least over-ran, a large part of Tongatabu, "but he was a leper." 734
For long he was ignorant of the nature of his malady, and his friends
sedulously refrained from reference to it. But one day a companion [762]
told him the ghastly truth, and Fakailoatonga, in his disgust, buried
himself alive. After his death he was elevated to the goddage. In the 771

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

MARRIAGE IN TONGA.

By E. E. V. Collocott.

A buggy, gay with floating mat and festooned with flower-decked 585 girdles, drives along the road, and stops before one of the Missions. A girl is assisted to alight; she needs assistance; free [292] action is made impossible by the voluminous folds of native cloth with which she is enveloped from bosom to feet. The bride, for bride she is, is joined by her lover, and together they present themselves before the minister; friends and relatives crowd in after them. They [582] hand over the permit to marry issued by the Government, without which Tongan citizens may not wed. The short Church marriage service is soon finished, certificates are signed, a small fee is collected, and the officiating clergyman, under threat of dire pains of a monetary sort, must attend to registration with due promptitude. Usually no ring is given, but all the civil and religious procedure is essentially the same as marks the espousals of an English country youth and maid. All is in fact conducted under an English legal [177] instrument which owes its being to the Western Pacific Commission. The civil and religious ceremonies have the same validity as in England, to confer legitimacy on offspring, and ensure rights of succession.

In all this there has been nothing Tongan, excepting the great [177] cumbrous dress of native cloth worn by the bride, and the fact that [292] she perhaps drove to and away from the Mission house seated on the knee of one of her relatives. But when the requirements of modern law have been satisfied, bride and bridegroom and relatives hie away home, and in the wedding feast perform in essence the ancient marriage ceremony, which is an exchange of food and other gifts between the relatives of the bride and the relatives of the bridegroom. The ceremony takes place at a house selected by the groom's people, either his own house or one belonging to some other member of his family. Along the front of the house a pretty and cool shelter [343] of green coconut leaves has been erected, a sort of temporary verandah, in which is arranged a heap of mats and native cloth to serve as a dais or throne. The bride awaits her husband in the home of her parents—nowadays she returns thither after the religious marriage service, or if this has taken place too late for the Tongan ceremony to be held on the same day, she will return from her husband's home to her parents on the following day. Both bride

[P. 221]

Both bride
585 and bridegroom are prepared for each other by bathing and anointing
[515] with sweet-scented oil, and are clad in fine mats and cloth. On
[302] both sides pigs are killed and cooked, and all the usual preparations
[292] made for feasting. The lavishness of the feast, and the amount of
[262] cloth and mats collected, are indications of the wealth and station of
[554] the families. When all is ready the bridegroom, accompanied by a
[602] man or woman who is called his "mother," *fae*, and who must be a
member of his mother's, or his mother's mother's brother's family,
goes to the bride's home, and finds her adorned and waiting for him.
[602] She too is attended by a "mother" of her mother's, or mother's
mother's brother's family. A procession is formed. Bride and
[302] bridegroom lead, closely followed by the "mothers" bearing baskets
in which are bottles of oil, wherewith they continually anoint the
couple lest the oil dry on them. Then come the bride's female
relatives, bearing the mats and cloth which her folk have prepared
for the wedding; and last are her male kin with the food, including
a special basket called the *veifua*, distinctive of weddings and funerals,
and which is the principal food offering of the ceremony. When the
party reaches the house the "mothers" seat themselves on the dais
of mats under the shelter of greenery, and bride and bridegroom sit
on their respective "mothers'" laps. The house is filled with women
connected with the bride, no men are there, their place is with the
food, which is their especial care. Presently a woman is called from
585 the house. She approaches the bride, assists her to rise, and leads
her by the hand into the house, where the women divest her of her
clothes. The practice nowadays, whatever older custom may have
been, is for the girl to wear inner garments which are not disturbed,
but she is stripped of native cloth and mats and her wedding dress of
European material. This clothing has been provided by the bride's
family, and will subsequently fall to the share of the bridegroom's
people. She is then arrayed in clothing, inferior in quality and
quantity to that taken from her, but still good, provided by the
bridegroom, and led forth again to her "mother's" lap; but presently
another woman is called from the house to come and lead her in.
Again she is undressed, and clothed afresh in raiment given by the
husband. The clothing taken from her on this second occasion is for
the bride's people. Then she is taken out to her seat on her
"mother's" lap. If the bridegroom is wealthy the bride may be
dressed in several fresh changes, all the dresses given by the groom
[274] being gifts to the bride's family. Usually two changes suffice. Then
the *kava* is beaten up, the bowl being placed at a convenient distance
off in front of the dais. When the *kava* is ready for drinking, but
before it has been served, the husband and his "mother" rise and
go into the house, where the women undress him, putting aside his
[292] [301] clothing for the bride's family. He is dressed again in clothes, of

good quality and including fine mats, of his own provision, and a 585
girdle of sweet-smelling leaves and flowers is put around his neck. [292]
He goes out and stands midway between the *kava* bowl and the mat [301]
dais, and a woman who is *fahu** on the bride's side calls the name of
some important personage of the bride's father's family to go and take
the bridegroom's dress. The bridegroom may either be alone, or
accompanied by his "mother." The one named at once steps forth
and takes immediate possession. The bridegroom then returns to
the house, and when he has been garbed anew, comes once more into
the space between the *kava* bowl and dais, and the *fahu* calls someone
of the bride's mother's family to be the recipient of the second dress.
Possession is at once taken as before. This may be repeated twice
more, the third set of clothes going to the bride's father's, and the
fourth to the bride's mother's family, but as a rule the first and
second presentations are sufficient. The bridegroom finally comes
forth from the house garbed in raiment which the *fahu* subsequently
claims for herself, but which is meanwhile worn by the groom. This
dress is called the dress for serving *kava*. The *kava* is now served, 585
the bridegroom taking the cups round, whilst the bride sits under the 276
canopy, and has presented to her the third, the chief, cup. She is
the chief on this occasion. The food distributed with the *kava* is the [262]
largest pig in the baskets brought by the bridegroom's family, and
the back, the chiefly portion, is laid before the bride. As in other [264]
kava ceremonial the food is not eaten by those to whom it is presented,
but is borne off by certain people who are *fahu* to the several
recipients.

After the *kava* has been drunk the food is distributed, that pro- 585
vided by the bride's people amongst the groom's family, and that
given by the man amongst the bride's folk. Similarly the mats and
cloth are exchanged between the families. The bridegroom has
nominally the disposal of that given by the bride's relatives, and the
bride of the presentations of her husband's folk, but very little of it
will fall to their share. The distribution will probably not be made
on the day of the wedding feast, but at some convenient time a little
later. Meanwhile the mats and cloth given by the man's party are
taken home by the bride's parents, and kept till she can go and
attend to their disposal. Amongst regular wedding gifts are candle-
nuts and towels of native cloth, which are presented to both bride
and bridegroom several days before the ceremony, to serve them in
their preparatory ablutions. Candlenuts are ground in the mouth, [515]
and used as a detergent. There is no obligation to use these gifts

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* The *fahu* is extremely important in Tongan society. It is a relative who [593]
has wide rights and authority over a man, namely his sister, or his father's sister, [604]
or their children.

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new religion has resulted in the development of a numerous 571
native clergy who vie with the chiefs in the amount of 565
influence they wield. It seems unlikely that the ancient [793]
heathen priesthood was anywhere near so powerful a social
factor as the modern clergy. The police, too, constitute a [625]
new factor in Tongan society.

Although the power of the chiefs is much diminished, 565
nevertheless Tongan written law recognises their superior 554
status. A commoner may not appear before a chief of 178
rank without wearing a ragged mat about his waist. The 565
situation has been somewhat ameliorated in recent years 576
by making a belt a legal substitute for the ragged mat. In 292
travelling with the Governor of Haapai, I noted that all [634]
individuals, even chiefs of rank, wore ragged mats in his
presence, for he was the viceroy of the Queen and as such
entitled to the respect of all, no matter how exalted their
station.

Umbrellas must be lowered and neither turbans nor 565
lime worn on the head in the presence of chiefs. I knew 576
of one chief who horse-whipped two young men for smoking [689]
cigarettes as they passed his house. This is obviously a [276]
new form of disrespect resulting from the introduction of [177]
tobacco. Commoners on horseback dismount in passing a
chief on foot. Anciently commoners are said to have
crouched by the roadside while a chief was passing. No
one rides in front of the queen's palace; he leads his horse.
As automobiles become commoner among the Tongans it
will be of interest to see what scheme is adopted for showing
proper reverence for chiefly blood. The freedom which 565
chiefs formerly showed with regard to the young women 178
among their dependents seems to have waned very appreciably.
Lastly, I have heard it whispered that chiefs are [696]
never brought to book in the modern courts of law.

Formerly, under the old feudal tenure of Tonga, people 423
furnished produce to their chiefs or landlords, more especially 427
first fruits and the first catch of certain fishes. To-day, 178
although these may be voluntarily furnished, the chief 651
obligation of the tenant is to pay his annual rental (one
dollar a year for eight and one-quarter acres) to his landlord.
In many cases the landlord is now the government, [643]
the lands formerly held by the Tui Kanokupolu having been
turned over to the government and a salary accepted by the
Tui Kanokupolu, as monarch, in lieu of rentals.

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in 276
pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be
relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan 276
school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact 829
that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission
to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate
with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has 177
been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is
one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing undertaken 177
that it became necessary some decades ago to pass 526
laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of
the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some 541
remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years 226
ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive 178
for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance [439]
in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to
buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen.

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The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new 296
feminine occupations; sewing, often with a machine; and [462]
washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable.
Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the 291
enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts [656]
in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular
cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes
are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, 625
blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat. 292

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about 291
the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper
length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and
ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas
are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark derisively 186
of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like
cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as barbarians [514]
because they have no water closets, which in Tonga [656]
are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on 264
mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

curiosity gratified by a look at Tonguese royalty, and of course to pay our respects at the king's own residence. With the monarch himself we were in no way disappointed, but his house, and everything relating to his outward state, fell far below our expectations. His residence was inferior to those of many of his chiefs, and there was the total absence of all that could mark superiority, either in its internal arrangements, or in the number or appearance of his personal attendants. It was, however, explained to us that the king, having only recently succeeded to power in Tonga, had never yet resided permanently there. He therefore was compelled, for a time, to occupy the house of the late King Tubou, who was well known to have no ambition for European luxuries, or even for that amount of state and show which the habits and wealth of Tonga afforded. Indeed, we afterwards found that his majesty had a much more complete and suitable establishment, both in Haabai and Vavau.

We found the king seated, after the native fashion, upon the matted floor. He was dressed in the garb usually worn by chiefs when voyaging, with the simple addition of a beautifully clean dress shirt. Our interview was very brief, but we were deeply impressed by the king's dignity of person and manner, and with his easy affability. He expressed, with evident emotion, his great pleasure at the safe arrival of the "Triton," and especially so, that it brought two new Missionaries to his country. He wished us every happiness, and prayed that our residence with his people might be blessed of God.

The name and doings of King George will fre-

The original label that went with the sitting image
532 reads as follows: "Household Goddess of the Emperor of
[776] Tonga and part of the dress worn by him when he
worshipped the Devil." The label confirms the locality of
[643] the image, and, as Tafaahau became the ruler of Tonga,
the image evidently formed one of the group that Tafaahau
[798] abandoned in 1830. It is the only image that I know of
that has been carved in a sitting position and is hence
unique. In spite of the mutilation, the lines of the body
and the thighs show good workmanship.

The ivory image is thus described by Mr. Oldman in his letter: "Very old and much worn with handling, stained a deep orange-yellow of beautiful tone and with symmetrical deeper coloured markings on front of body and lower legs and on posterior. Arm has been fractured. I consider it one of the finest little gems I possess." A line drawing of the print is shown in fig. 4.

The Oldman ivory image, while typically Tongan, is not quite so realistic in treatment as the largest ivory image in the British Museum or the Fuller wooden image. From the treatment of the eyes and the comparatively wide width of the shoulders, it stands between these more realistic images and the more conventionalized types in the Oldman collection shown in figs. 1 and 2.

The dress worn by Tafaahau when he took part in
292 the religious service of his own culture, rather snobbishly
described as "worshipping the devil," consisted of bark
cloth, and from its narrow width it was evidently a sash
or a perineal band *(malo)*. As specimens of cloth of
authentic early manufacture should be regarded as type
specimens for future study, a drawing made from
Mr. Oldman's photograph is shown in fig. 5, *a*.

Mr. Oldman included in his pictures, two clubs with
411 projecting bosses on the expanded heads of the clubs. These
531 bosses are shaped in a form similar to the flat faces with
pointed chins of the Tongan images, and they have elongated
triangular projections which correspond in position and
shape to the noses of the images. Though eyes and mouth
are not represented, I agree with Mr. Oldman in his opinion
that this conventionalized motive has been derived from
the faces of the Tongan images. It is probable, therefore,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

411 that these clubs illustrate types that were used in Lifuka, the locality with which the images are definitely associated. 531 See fig. 5, *b* and *c*.

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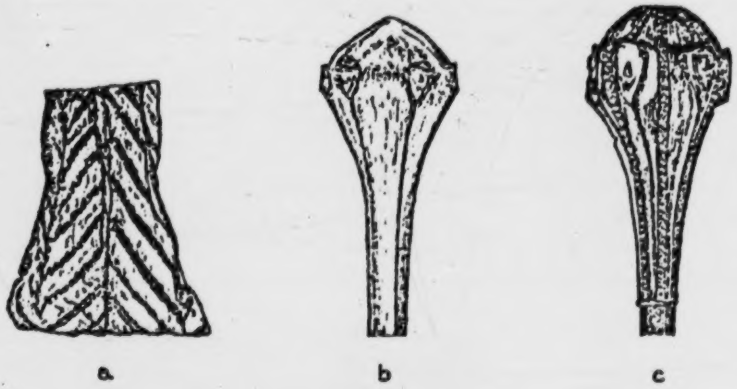


Fig. 5.

Tongan Cloth and Clubs

a—Tongan bark cloth: period of 1830 before foreign influence affected native patterns; oblique parallel lines forming long chevrons. *b*—Tongan club with expanded head showing bosses in form of face and nose, similar to those of wooden images in figs. 1 and 2. *c*—Tongan club similar to *b* but with raised zig-zag vertical lines between the bosses.

TYPE-SPECIMENS

127 Anthropology in the branch of material culture has certain advantages and disadvantages. The advantages exist in the fact that artifacts now no longer obtainable in their country of origin have been preserved in museums and private collections. The disadvantages are that many valuable specimens, after passing through various hands, have become inaccurately labelled as to locality and, furthermore, that owing to their not having been described in anthropological literature, they are inaccessible to the student who cannot make a tour of the world's museums and private collections.

In order to promote accurate study by students and correct identification by museum authorities, it is necessary in the cause of science that really old artifacts, of which the history and locality have been accurately determined, should be recorded in the literature as type-specimens. Once

nately been described by early travellers with a considerable amount 764
of detail concerning ceremonies unfamiliar to the present generation
of Tongans. The European custom of wearing black clothing and 765
black arm bands as a sign of mourning is now universal and carried [177]
through much more completely than is usual amongst Europeans,
especially in these hot tropical latitudes. In addition the old Tongan [292]
practice of wearing a ragged mat is still adhered to. A mat, other [576]
than the cloth loincloth, is a mark of respect to superior rank. In [602]
the item of the mat as a sign of mourning close relatives of the deceased
will wear a ragged mat, but those not nearly akin to the
deceased will wear a good one. As a mark of respect to a chief if 292
a mat be not obtainable any sort of belt seems to answer the purpose. 576
A few years ago I was working with some boys a few hundred yards 554
from the beach. The king was on a visit to our island and happened
to be standing at the time near the beach. None of the boys would [643]
even remotely approach the place where His Majesty was without
first girding himself with a piece of mat or some substitute. Some
of the boys wound a length of a creeping vine about themselves. Old
travellers have noted that, in the presence of a chief, people who happened
to be clad about the shoulders turned their clothing back to the
waist. It was tabu to have the native cloth (ngatu) about the body,
but the mat (fala) around the waist, even if it extended higher up
the body than was permissible for the cloth, was not only allowed but
enjoined as a mark of respect. The leaves of the ifi (Tahitian chestnut)
around the neck were a sign of the utmost respect, and regularly
worn by those who had a great boon to ask.

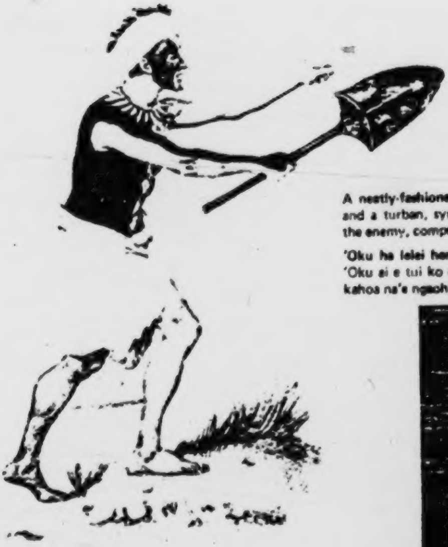
Anciently the disposal of the body of a man of insufficient social 764
elevation to be possessed of a soul seems to have differed considerably 565
from the elaborate ceremonial which marked the interment of a high 775
chief. This is only to be expected, as the chief's body has been the temple of a spirit which lives on in Bulotu, although apparently capable of revisiting his earthly shrine, or in some other way exerting influence in its vicinity. The commoner's body was not the seat of a soul and its neighborhood was less likely to be made uncomfortable by ghostly disturbances. This apparently straightforward division into chiefs and commoners is not so simple as it looks. It would

Presumably if men passed from one side to the other of the net the 784
fish would do the same. The various sweet-smelling flowers which 226 825
are used to adorn and scent the leaf-girdles which are always worn
on festival occasions by both men and women, but particularly by the 292 824
women, are protected by a tabu belonging to the range of sympathetic 784
magic. Flowers that have been used in the leaf-girdle must not be
burnt before they are quite dead and dried up. Should this tabu be
violated the tree from which the burnt blossoms were taken will
thereafter be useless for supplying flowers for the girdles, and any
blooms plucked from it will quickly fade. It is only the individual
tree which is affected, and flowers from other trees of the same
species will retain their scent and freshness as before.

Fishing, an important industry of the inhabitants of these tiny 226
islets, and one moreover subject to alternations of success and failure, 784
of calm tranquillity and boisterous hazard, from causes which it is
frequently difficult either to foresee or to explain, retains in large
measure its old safeguard of tabus. If a man be out fishing and
someone inquire of his wife where he is she must not tell. Better to
sacrifice the truth than her husband's luck. This tabu, however, is
now falling into disregard. The best known tabus are those con-
cerning the bonito and the shark. The bonito whose origin, or at 226
the least first arrival in Tongan waters, has a supernatural connection 784
with the Tui Haangana, the chief of the island of Haano in Haapai, 825 [622]
will not suffer himself to be caught off that island if the chief ven-
tures outside his house whilst bonito are in the vicinity. A similar [622]
tabu keeps one of the chiefs of the eastern end of Tongatabu within
doors when the bonito appears. There is also a proper order for the
disposal of the first-fruits of the bonito fishing in Tongatabu before
the fish is available for the people at large.

Of no fishing is the ritual more exact and more flourishing today
than that attending the pursuit of the shark. The most perfect har-
mony, even of thought and sentiment, must prevail amongst the
fishermen and amongst their friends and relatives ashore. Discord [828]
or the hidden rancor of the heart is fatal to success. A young woman
relates that in her childhood, as a party of shark-fishers were setting
out, she cried to be taken with her father who was a member of the

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



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A neatly-fashioned weapon, blackened skin, necklace of sharks' teeth, and a turban, symbolic of defiance and self-confidence in the face of the enemy, comprise this Tongan's war costume (1827).

'Oku ha lelei heni ai e fa'ahinga teunga 'o ha tangata tau 'i ono'aho. 'Oku ai e tui ko e ma'u mei he kau Fisi 'a e valivali 'uli'uli e kili. Ko e kahoa na'e ngaohi ia mei he nifo'i 'anga.

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To partake of the "harvest of the sea," early Tongan fishermen used lures and hooks (such as these) made from turtle shell, whale ivory, and mother-of-pearl shell. These old fishhooks belonged many years ago to Siosiua "Niukapu" Palefau from Tu'anikivale, Vava'u, and are preserved today as artifacts by his great-great-granddaughter, Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu.

Na'e ngaue'aki 'e he kau toutai 'o ono'aho ha ngaahi mata'u na'e fa'u mei he 'uno 'o e fonu, hui'i tofua'a pe nge'esi fingota. Ko e ongo mata'u ko eni na'e ngaue'aki fuoloa ia 'e Niukapu (Siosiua Palefau) mei Tu'anikivale, Vava'u, pea 'oku kei tauhi ia he 'aho ni 'e hono mokopuna tolu ko Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu.

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39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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Dancing is one of the oldest, most well-loved arts in Tonga. Above: A young lady in typical dance costume at 'Oholei Beach does the popular *tau'olunga* dance, obeying the cardinal rule of Tongan dancers—to smile. At right: Pretty dancers in gay attire rest before starting the [539] *ma'ulu'ulu*, which is a combination sit-down dance and action song. Beginning at a very young age, Tongan children learn the skillful dances—girls, the graceful arm and hand movements, and [868] boys, the rhythmic, more vigorous counterpart.

Ko e me'a manakoa 'i Tonga 'a e faiva. Ta 'i 'olunga: Ko e tau'olunga eni 'a ha ki'i finemui 'i he matatahi ko 'Oholei. Ta 'i to'omata'u: Ko e kau finemui eni 'oku nau teuteu ke fai 'enau ma'ulu'ulu.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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If a man attends church service regularly and keeps on doing good, he will be allowed to be called *lotu fefui* (catechumen), and if he can keep on having a good record a few years more, he will be elevated to the status of *malanga*. A few excellent men among the *malanga* may be promoted to *faifekau* by the church president.[14] It is a great honour and much respected to become *malanga* or *faifekau*. 795 554

Fakaafe for the New Year

The last day of the year, it is said, is the most important day for the Tongan. On this day, the members of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have *fakaafe*, a feast, thanking God for the peace of the past year and praying for the happiness of the coming year. Each *malanga* is invited to one *fakaafe* to say a grace. After the feast, a *malanga* is presented with a bark cloth and a *sisi* (ornamented girdle or waist band or festoon made of flowers and leaves) by the host. It is a great honour for anyone to give *fakaafe* on this occasion. This privilege is conferred upon him by the steward of the church. In this village, eight men, (4, 6, 14, 16, 29 - steward, 30, 32, 34) in the Free Wesleyan Church and four men (2, 18, 26, 27) in the Free Church of Tonga have been privileged to give *fakaafe* for many years. Some of their kinsmen who help to make *umu* (food cooked in an earth oven) are then invited to share the joy of the feast. This occasion offers us a good opportunity to observe kinship functioning. The details of the feast are as follows: 796 796 574 [292] [554] [794] [252]

TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe*

Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
4	the members of his household only	32 (*malanga*), 8 and his wife, The household members.	4 pieces of yam, 3 of *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 2 chickens, etc.
6	his son and 12	30 (*malanga*), 5. The household members.	10 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 1 basket of sweet potato, some fish, 1 pig, 4 pounds of canned beef, 4 pounds of canned mutton etc.
14	two of his friends, the members of his household	28 (*malanga*), 20, a woman from another village.	6 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 3 chickens, 12 pounds of canned beef.

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14. Rank differentiation in the different churches varies a little.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. 553
The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's 602
relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of 593
residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in 604
birth significanc to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal
relative's desire to name a child.

VII — Weddings and Funerals

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial 612
occasions such as weddings[21] and funerals. I will describe these ceremonial 554
procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour. 585 764

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' 128
consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to
him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy 584
makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* [276]
(big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy [574]
eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept
their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon
as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili*
will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The
marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is [276]
prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink.
The first cup of kava is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the [574]
second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later
after *faitohi* the wedding takes place.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father 585
cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, [252]
the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihu, kei* (both, a kind of mat) [292]
and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths [352]
and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his [292]
followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom
sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, 585
attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this 276
occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,[22] then by the groom. 574
If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of
them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork, [262]
and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully
chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom
and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her
family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even
their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes
to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. 585
Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kie*. The bride
and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

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[21] Collocott 1928: 221-5., Beaglehole 1941: 91-98., Koch 1955: 75-81.

[22] Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

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45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

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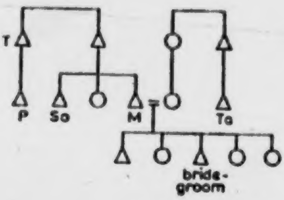
FIG. 5 The bridegroom and his relatives.



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292 The bridegroom changed his clothes five times during the period from *fakalelea mali* to the end of *katoanga mali*, the clothes were presented to those who are mentioned below.

The *vala fakalelea mali* (dress for *fakalelea mali*) of *ngafi ngafi* and *fihu* (both, a kind of mat) were given to the bride. The *vala mali* (dress for the wedding ceremony) of *kie* (a kind of mat) were borrowed from the groom's mother and given back to her later. The *vala katoanga mali* (dress for *katoanga mali*) for the first time, a *fihu* of thirteen feet was given to the bride's mother; for the second time, a *ngatu* of *launima*,[28] to Mrs. Vekune, a noble widow, who was related to the groom's father and attended the feast; for the third time, a *vala fakatau kava* (dress for bringing *kava* cup to the bride) a *ngatu* of ten *langanga* was given to the bride's mother.

His mother prepared all the clothes. Every time he changed his dress, he went back to his house which was quite near to the banquet place. The bride had been wearing *ngatu* of eight *langanga* and *kie* until *katoanga mali* was over. Her mother and the *fa'e tangata* of the groom wore *ngatu* of five *langana*.

While they were in Nuku'alofa, both mothers made up *koloa* respectively for the young couple. The bridegroom's *koloa* consisted of 3 *ngatu*, bark cloth), 1 *kafu* (cover) of 10 *langanga*, 1 *puipui*, (curtain) of 10 *langanga*, 1 *aofi* (sheet) of 8 *langanga*; 3 *fala* (mat), 1 *lotaha* (roughly made mat) of 10 feet, 1 *fala paongo* (a mat made of *paongo* leaves), of 15 feet, 1 *fala tofua* (a mat made of *tofua* leaves) of 15 feet. The bride's *koloa* consisted of 1 *ngatu* (bark cloth) which had been *lautefuhi* (100 *langanga*), but was cut into halves, two *launima* (50 *langanga*); 3 *fala* (mat), 1 *fala paufu* (a mat made of *paufu* leaves), 1 *fala tofua*, 1 *fala fihu*, which had been made by her mother's younger sister several years ago, not for her marriage.

Except for this last article all these *koloa* were made by their mothers.
585 After *katoanga mali* was over, the bride's mother brought additionally some bark cloths and mats to them. The groom's mother also had already arranged almost the same things to offer herself. So she made the bed for the bridal night with enough materials from both families.

Next morning, the groom's mother examined the bark cloth of the bed. She wrapped it with *kie* and took it along with a roasted pig to the

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[28] *Launima* consists of fifty *langanga*. One *langanga* is about two times as long as the distance between the thumb and the middle fingers of a hand when the fingers are stretched out in opposite direction.

764 The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u*, and wrap
the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima,* named *kumifonua*. Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua,* is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.[24]
For the funeral feast, *pulua, fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased
make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant.
[276] Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule*. Sometimes *pulua*
[574] is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral,
when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

Years ago, *liongi* cut their hair to show their grief and even now
765 they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.[25] The family
[302] and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten
[784] days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted,
[593] and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers
[602] wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but
[292] the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For
these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for
the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held
and the relatives from a distance return to their home village .

VIII — SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON RAMIFICATION AND STRATIFICATION

In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation
121 and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information.
114 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is
of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

613 The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to
114 *ha'a*. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to
565 commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

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[24] According to Beaglehole *ha'a tufunga*, undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that *ha'a tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.

[25] Koch 1955: 86.

WEDNESDAY *21st.* The next morning I took a walk into the island, 241
which I found to be finely laid out into Plantations that were ex-
treemly well Cultivated and planted with such roots and fruits as [177]
are common to the island, and I made some addition by sowing the
seeds of Indian Corn, Millons Pumpkins &c^{a}. All the Plantations [417]
were finced round and publick roads lay between them. When I went
on board to dinner I found a large sailing Canoe fast to the Ships [491]
stern; in this Canoe was *Latouliboula* who, we understood, was King
of Tongatabu when I visited the island last Voyage.[1] He sat in the 648
Canoe with all that gravity by which he was distinguished at that 644
time, nor could I by any means prevail upon [him] to come into the
Ship. The people called him *Arekee* which signifies King,[2] a title I had [554]
never heard one of them give Feenough which made me suspect he [634]
was not the King. Latouliboula remained under the stern till the
evening when he retired to one of the isles. Feenough was on board
at the same time but neither took any notice of the other.

THURSDAY *22nd.* Nothing material happened the next day, except- 648
ing some of the Indians stealing a Tarpauling and some other things
from of the deck, they were soon missed and the thieves pursued, but 685
a little too late, I applied to Feenough to have the things returned, 634
he refered me to Earoupa and he put me of from time to time and at
last nothing was done.[3] In the morning of the 23rd as we were going to 23rd

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evening with a dance, by some of their dancing Women, who are early trained to it, for the
entertainment of the great.—The principal Women who have at all times an Air of conse- [648]
quence & dignity in whatever they do, never perform among them; the dancers were upon
this occasion particularly well dress'd after their manner, which consists of a large piece of [541]
their cloth of a brown colour, first doubled, & then with great exactness folded on the [533]
upper part into about thirty plaits, & tied with a kind of ribband made of the leaves of the
plantin tree, dyed of different colours, round their waist, their hair is adorned wth a [535]
variety of flowers, & the upper part of the body rub'd over with a perfumed Oil: from the [177]
stiffness of the cloth, its being plaited, & the manner it is put on, they look like persons
just springing out of a cask; in these dances the Women have a variety of figures, all [292]
which they perform well, but with great labour to themselves: the custom of going with
the upper part of their bodies naked is thought no way indecent, as the frequent view of [301]
the persons so expos'd rather checks than incites every loose appetite, to us the appearance
of those women who had bore many children was rather disgusting; but our ideas of [302]
disgust were soon changed into that of admiration when We beheld the most beautiful
forms that imagination can conceive in the younger part of the Sex.'—Williamson.

[1] Latunipulu, the male *Tamaha*, the man of 'sullen and stupid gravity' whom Cook met in October 1773 at Tongatapu.—II, pp. 256–8:—'a chief whose odd and wild manners attracted our attention', says King. He would not trust himself in the ship, but 'he was very eager for our curiosities, & if trust'd into his hands woud not return them, his attendants however settled the prices.'—King, 22 May.

[2] '*Eiki*, a chief, a lord; or head of a family. The Maori *ariki* (a first-born in a family of note) may have been in Cook's mind. Other journals render the word as 'agee' or 'egee'.

[3] Both sides suffered. 'Punish'd Chris^{r} Kervin with 12 lashes for losing his ramrod (which I believe the Indians stole) during the Time he was Centinel, purposely to prevent their committing any thefts.' Next day Thomas Stretcher got 6 'for suffering the Indians to steal his Boathook'.—Clerke, 21, 22 May. Next day again 'Punished one of the Indian chiefs with 15 Lashes for Theft. Had we made an Example of every one of these people that deserved it, Punishments wou^{d} have been Endless, for their Skill in Pilfering is almost past

was observed in taking them away and I observed no one spoke to 648
him standing. I stayed till several of his attendants left him, first
paying him Obseisance by bowing the head to the sole of his foot, and 643
touching or taping the same with the upper and under sides of the [644]
fingers of both hands.[1] Others who were not in the circle came as it [576]
seemed on purpose and paid him this mark of respect and then retired
without speaking one word. I was quite charmed with the
decorum that was observed, I had no where seen the like, no not even
amongst more civilized nations.

When I got on board I found the Master returned, he informed 122
me that so far as he had been, there was anchorage and a passage
for the Ships, but that towards the South and SE he saw a number of
small isles, shoals and breakers. Fore seeing that to go this way
would be attended with some risk, I thought it better to return by
the same rout as we came and should have sailed the next morning, Wed. 28
had not the wind been too far Southerly and very unsettled withal.
Fattafee Polaho the King as I shall now call him came on board betimes 292
and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered
with red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from [643]
knowing they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But though very [648]
large prices were offered not one was ever brought for sale, which
shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a [439]
person in either Ship that got one but my self Capt Clerke and Omai.
These Caps or rather bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the [237]
Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets[2] worked upon them
or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead
without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radis is
18 or 20 Inches; But a painting which Mr Webber has made of Fattafee
Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea
of them.[3]

The Cheif stayed on board till the evening when he left us but his 643
Brother, whose name was also Fattafee,[4] and one or two more remained 648
on board all night.

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[1] The observance called *moemoe*. Cook, on his previous voyage, had seen it paid to Latunipulu.—II, pp. 256–7. The 'bowing the head to the sole of his foot' was a special observance to one's hereditary chief. For any other chief the rest of the ceremony would be the essential part. 644

[2] The Blue-crowned Lory, *Vini australis*. It appears that most of the Tongan red feathers, however, were not a domestic production but came from Fiji. [439]

[3] See *Voyage*, I, pl. XVIII. This may give a good idea of the bonnet, but it hardly answers to Cook's description of the subject: it shows the head and shoulders of a personable young man, neither the features nor the shoulders being those of a 'most corperate plump fellow'; nor are the features recognizably Tongan—or indeed very Polynesian at all. The bonnets (*fae* or *faefae*) were worn at times of great festival or ceremony.

[4] He is more particularly known as Ma'ulupekotofa. He was Paulaho's older half-brother. Their mothers were both secondary wives to the 35th Tu'i Tonga, whose children

for by Polaho and soon after Feenough came and acquainted me that 648
young Fattafee, Polaho's son, wanted me. I left Toobough and went 643
with him, And found the Prince and Omai seting under a large 644
Canopy of the finer sort of cloth with a piece of the Coarser sort 644
spread under them, that was 76 yards long and 7½ broad. On one 648
side was a large old Boar and on the other a heap of Cocoa-nuts; a 643
number of people were seated round the cloth, amongst them Mariwaggy 643
and others of the first rank. I was desired to set down by the 644
Prince and then Omai informed me that he was desired by the King 431
to tell me that as he and I were friends he hoped his son might be
joined in that friendship, and that as a token I would except of his
present. I very readily agreed to the proposal and as it was now 648
dinner time I invited them all on board to dinner, viz. the young
Prince, Mariwaggy, Old Toobough and Feenough; they were accompaned 643
by three or four inferior chiefs and two respectable old Ladies 644
of the first rank. Mariwaggy was dressed in a new peice of cloth, on [634]
the skirts of which was fixed six pretty large patches of red feathers: [292]
this dress seemed to have been made for this visit, for as soon as he [287]
got on board he put it of and presented it to me to whom it was [431]
valuable on account of the feathers. I made all my visiters such presents [262]
as I had reson to think they were highly pleased with. When [784]
dinner came on table not one of my guests would sit down or eat a
bit of any thing that was there. Every one was *Tabu*, a word of a very
comprehensive meaning but in general signifies forbidden. After
dinner, and they had seen all over the Ship, I conducted them a
shore, as soon as the boat land[ed] Feenough and some others instantly
steped out, young Fattafee was following them but was called
back by Marriwaggy, and he Old Toobough and one of the old
Ladies paid the young Prince the same obeisance and in the same
manner as is paid to the King; this done he was suffered to go and
the old people steped into a Canoe that was waiting to carry them to
their place of aboad. This Mariwaggy and Old Toobough were 643
Brothers they were both men of great property in the island and 643
seemed to be in high favour with the people; the former was Father 644
to Feenough, & Toobougheitoa and Father in Law to the King, he
having married one of his Daughters by whom he had this Son—
consequently Mariwaggy was the Prince's grandfather.[1] On my 648
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[1] The relationships as stated here need some modification, owing to the ambiguity of the Tongan words used to explain them. Macaliuaki and 'old Toobough' were full brothers, on the assumption that the latter was Tupou'ila, both sons of Ma'afuotu'itonga, 6th Tu'i Kanokupolu, and the same mother. Macaliuaki was 'classificatory father', *tamai* (cf. p. 125, n. 2 above), to both Finau, son of Tu'itu'iobu, a chief in Vava'u, and Tupouto'a his half-brother. Macaliuaki's daughter Kongakava was Paulaho's wife, but an 'additional

The 17th was the day fixed upon for Mariwaggy to give a grand Tues. 17
Haiva or entertainment to which we were all invited. The 541
dancing and Singing began about 11 o'clock and continued till three
or four, there were two sets of above a hundred men and youths in 648
each, of the first rank in the island. On each side of the Area where 533
this was performed was a pile or heap of Sticks and yams, decorated 535
with different sorts of small fish, these were Marriwaggies present to
Captain Clerke and me. The yams were brought in in the Morning, 648
two at a time, one at each end of a stick or pole about six feet long, 431
these with the yams were piled up so as to appear to the most advantage [482]
and made about three fourths of the whole so that it was ha[r]d
to say whether the wood for fuel or the yams to eat were of the most
Value to us. As to the fish it might serve to please the sight but was
very offensive to the Smell, as some of it had been kept two or three
days for this occasion.

The Evening was ushered in with singing and dancing the Circular 648
dance in which both men and women performed. Feenough on
this occasion appeared compleatly dressed in English Cloth, with not 533
less than ten or a dozen strings of beads about his neck and was a 535
principal actor in this entertainment: even Mariwaggy himself at one [634]
time beat on the drum. These drums were such as I have before mentioned [292]
that is hollowed logs of Wood and Bamboos of different [30F]
lengths. The Musicians to the dance are in front and [643]
round them are seated in a long oval form a number of men who
keep singing and claping their hands during the whole of the performance, [534]
the same is done in the circular dances, with this difference
that they sit in a circle and round them the dancers form a 535
nother, but this is done so insencibly that it is some time before it is [533]
compleat and very often not till the end of the dance. These dances
vary perhaps much more than we were able to discover, however
there appeared a sort of sameness throughout the whole, and so would,
I apprehend the most of our Country dances to people as unacquainted
with them as we were with theirs. The drawings which Mr
Webber has made of these performances will give a very good idea of
the order in which they range themselves but neither pen nor pencil
can discribe the numerous actions and motions they observe, which
as I have before observed are easy and gracefull and many of them
extreemly so. The whole of this entertainment was conducted with 541
far better order than could be expected in so large assembly, for at
this time there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people in 571
our neighbourhood, that is within the Compass of a quarter of a mile.
Amongst such a Multitude there must be a number of ill disposed [685]

312 first were mostly in land and the latter by the shore of the Lagoon
and for the most part below high water mark, so that to have the
water tolerable it must be taken up at low water.

648 When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of
the evening, our supper was ready, it consisted of a baked hog some
262 fish and yams all excellent well cooked after their own method. As
513 there was nothing to amuse us after supper we followed the Custom
of the Country and laid down to Sleep, our beds was a large piece of
Cloth spread on the floor. The King slept in the same house as well
521 as several others. Long before day break they rose and sat chating by
Moon light till it was day light; the conversation, as might well be
expected, turned wholy on us, the King entertaining the Company
Frid. 27 with an account of what he had seen. As soon as it was light they all
512 went away, some one way and some a nother, but it was not long
before they returned and with them several more. They now began
648 to make a bowl of Cava at which I left them to pay a Visit to Toobough Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a house hard by, which
276 for size and neatness was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left
the others so I found here, a company preparing a Morning draught.
[431] This Chief made me a present of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity of yams and a large piece of Cloth.

When I returned to the King I found the company drinking the
276 second bowl of Cava. When it was out the King told Omai he was
765 going to perform a Mourning ceremony for a Son which had been
dead some time and desired we would acompany him. We were
643 glad of the oppertunity expecting to see some thing new or Curious.
[292] The first thing the Chief did was to step out of the house, attended by
two Women, and put on a new sute of Cloathes, or piece of Cloth,
and over it an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of
[824] them having quite so ragged a Mat round them as their master.[1] Thus
equiped we marched off preceded by about eight or ten persons all
dressed in the same manner and with each a small green branch
about his neck. The King held his in his hand till we drew near the
place of rendezvouse when he tied it about his neck also. Thus we
entered a small inclosure, in which was a small neat house and one
[824] man seting before it. As they entered they pulled off the green
branch from round their necks and threw them away. After the King
was seated the others seated them selves in the usual way before him;

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[1] This was the *ta'ovala*, still worn as a sort of sash-apron; the raggedness was not for normal wear, but a sign of mourning.

soon begin and desired not to walk out, I however had resolved to 651 peep no longer from behind the Curtin, but to make one of the 796 number in the Ceremony if possible; with this View I stole out of the 123 Plantation and walked to wards the Morai; I was several times applied to to go back by people who were passing to and fro, but I paid no regard to them and they suffered me to pass on. When I got to the Morai, I found a number of men seated on one side of the Area on each side of the road which led up to it; a few were seting on the other side the area and two in the Middle of it facing the Morai. When I got into the midst of the first company I was desired to sit down which I accordingly did. Where I sat down were a number of small bundles or parcels made up of Cocoanut leaves, and tied to sticks made into the form of hand barrows, all the information I could get of them was that they were *Tabu*. Our number kept continually increasing, every one coming from the same quarter; every now and then, one or another of the Company would turn himself to those that were coming and make a short spea[c]h in which the word *Areke*, that is King was generally mentioned. One made a speach which made them all laugh heartily, others met with publick applause. I was several times desired to go away, and at last when the[y] found I would not stir, they, after some seeming consultation, desired I would bare my shoulders as they were, with this I complied[1] after which they seemed no longer uneasy at my presence. I sat here a full hour without any thing more going forward than what I have mentioned. At length the Prince, the Women and the King all came in as they did the day before and as soon as the King was seated three Companies ran forward and backward a cross the Area as they did then. Soon after the two men who sat in the Middle of the Area, made a short speach or prayer, then all of us started up and ran and seated our selves before the shed under which the Prince and three or four men were siting. I was now partly under the management of a man who seemed very assiduous to serve me and placed me in such a situation, that if I had been allowed to make use of my eyes, I might very well have seen every thing that passed, but it was necessary to sit with down cast eyes and as demure as Maids. Soon after the 651 Procession came in as the day before, with a Cocoanut leafe plated 796 round the Middle of the pole or stick which they bore on their Shoulders, and which they laid down with the same ceremony as they

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[1] 'We who were on y^{e} outside were not a little surprised at seeing Cap^{t} Cook in y^{e} procession of the Chiefs, wth his hair hanging loose & his body naked down to y^{e} waist; no person being admitted covered above y^{e} waist, or with his hair tyed; I do not pretend to dispute the propriety of Capt^{n} Cook's conduct, but I cannot help thinking he rather let himself down. . . .'—Williamson, f. 64v. [292] [302]

time we all faced about and formed a large semicircle before the 651
Prince, leaving a large open place between us. Presently there appeared
some men coming to wards us, two and two bearing large 796
sticks or poles on their Shoulders making a noise like singing and
waving their hands as they came. As soon as they got close up to us
they made shew of walking very fast without advancing a single step;
presently three or four men started up from the crowd with large
sticks in their hands and ran to those new comers who instantly
threw down the poles from their shoulders and ran off, and the others
fell on these poles and beat them most unmercifully and then returned
to their places. As the men ran off they gave the challenge 651
usual in wristling, and not long after a number of stout fellows came
from the same quarter, giving the Challenge as they advanced, these 796
were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at 526
the same instant; these two parties paraded the Area for a few
minutes and then retired each to his own side. After this there was
wrestling and boxing Matches for about half an hour, then two men 651
seated themselves before the Prince and made a speach address'd I 796
thought wholy to him, with this the ceremony ended and the whole [537]
assembly broke up. I now went and examined the several Baskets
which had been brought in, a thing I was not allowed to do before
because every thing was then *Tabu*, but the ceremony being over they
became simply what they realy were, viz. empty baskets, so that
whatever they were supposed to Contain was emblematically represented,
and so indeed was every other thing they brought in except
the fish.

We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning not only of the [124]
whole but the different parts of this ceremony, we seldom got any
other answers to our enquir[i]es than *Tabu*, a word which as I have
before observed is applied to many other things. But as the Prince
was the principal person concerned in it, and we had been told by
the King ten days before it happened, that the people would bring in
yams for them two to eat and even described some part of the ceremony,
we concluded from this and what we saw, that it was an Oath
of Alligiancy or solemn promise which they made the Prince as the
immediate successor to the Regale Dignity, to stand by him and to
furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically
represented. But be this as it will the whole was conducted with a
great deal of Ceremonious solemnity, and that it was mixed with a
great deal of Religion is evident not only from the place where it was
performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and [123]
deportment had never been called in question on any account what- [292]
[302]
[516]

651 ever before. Now it was expected that we should be uncove[re]d as
low as the waist, that our hair should be loose and flowing over our
796 shoulders; that we should like them sit cross leged and at times in
123 the most humble posture with downcast eyes and hands locked together,
292 all of which they themselves observed; lastly every one was
excluded but the Principle people and those who acted a part. These
302 to me were a sufficient testimony that they looked upon themselves
516 to be acting under the immediate eye of a Supreme Being. We were
told that a far greater or grandeur ceremony than this would be per-
651 formed on the same account in about three months time in which
796 ten Men were to be Sacrificed;[1] this is sufficient for us to beleive
that Human Sacrifices here as well as at Otaheite are considered as
782 necessary.

Before the Ceremony was over the day was far spent and as we
122 were some distance from the Ships and had an intricate Navigation
to go through, we made haste to be gone. When I took leave of the
648 Cheif he press'd me much to stay till the next day to see a funeral
Ceremony. This was the wife of Mariwaggy and Mother in Law to
643 the King, whose Corps, on account of the late Ceremony, lay on
766 board a Canoe in the Lagoon; he told me as soon as it was over he would go with me to Middleburg, provide[d] I would wait, if not he would follow, for if it had not been for the death of this Woman, most of the Chiefs would have accompaned us to that island, all of them having possessions there. I would gladly have waited to have seen this Ceremony also had not the tide been now favourable for the Ships to get through the narrows, and the Wind, which for several days past had been very boisterous, Moderate and settled, and to have lost this oppertunity might have detained us a fortnight longer; beside we were told that the Ceremony would last five days and this was too long for me to wait in a place where I could not put to sea at pleasure. I however told him that If we did not sail I should certainly visit him again the next day, and so we all took leave and set out for the Ships where we arrived about 8 o'clock in the evening.

123 I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at this last days
ceremony as well as my self, but we were not together nor did I know
651 he was there till it was almost over. Omai after wards told me that as
796 soon as the King missed me, he sent several people one after a nother
to desire me to come back, probably these Messengers were not admited to come where I was, for I saw nothing of them. At last word

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[1] 'In about three months time' would mean October, the period of the regular *inasi* ceremony, the first-fruits or harvest festival described by Mariner; and men's lives could quite well be part of the harvest apportioned to the share of the gods. We cannot be dogmatic that Cook's 'on the same account' is either right or wrong.

[1777]

291 the dress of both men and Women is the same, and consists of one
piece about two yards wide and two and a half long, or so long as to
go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confind by a girdle
or cord; it is double before and hangs down like a petticoat as low as
the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle
is plaited into several large folds, so that there is cloth sufficient when
[565] unfolded to come over the head but this is very seldom done. This as
to form is the general dress, but large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting
are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up
with small pieces and very often wear nothing but a petticoat made
of the leaves of plants, or the Maro,[1] which is a narrow piece of cloth
or matting like a Sash, this they bring between the legs and wrap
292 round the waist; but this last is chiefly confined to the men. In their
great *Haivas*, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made
[535] for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest
dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers. When, or on
what occation the Chiefs wear those large red feather bonnets I
could never learn,[2] both men and women sometimes shade their faces
from the Sun with little bonnits, made either of matting or other
301 materials. They also wear Neclaces some of which are composed of
many little neat trinkets made of bone, mother of pearl and tortise
shell.[3]

342 *Houses* The Houses of these people are of various sizes and like those
of Otahiete consists chiefly of a thatched roof supported by
[352] pillars and rafters desposed in a very judicious manner and the workman
ship in many extremely neat, the floor is raised with earth
[264] smoothed and covered with strong thick Matting and kept very clean;
they seldom eat in them, unless it rains. The most of them are inclosed
on the weather Side and some more than two thirds round, with strong
Mats or the branches of the Cocoanut tree plated or woven one into a
nother; these they fix up edgeways and reach from the eaves to the
352 ground and answers the purpose of a wall. A thick strong Mat about
519 2½ or 3 feet broad, bent into the form of a simicircle and set up upon
its edge with the ends against the wall, like unto the the fender of a
fire hearth, incloses a place for the Master and Mistress of the family
to sleep in, the lady indeed spends most of her time in it,[4] the rest of

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[1] Tongan *malo*.

[2] This head-dress, the *fau* or *faufau*, was worn during times of festival or high ceremony,
[914] or at the outset of a war expedition.

[3] '. . . both Sexes wear Necklaces made of Shells, bones, & berries, & sweet smelling flowers, & have two holes (generally in one ear only,) thro which they thrust a round piece of Tortoise Shell about 3 Inches long or reed or bone. The Women have rings on their fingers make of Tortoise Shell.'—King.

[562] [609] [4] Cf. King: 'The roads about this place [the neighbourhood of the Observatory] are

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

some height. We row'd to the last place and landed amongst a
considerable number of people, who receivd us with a sort of acclamation 643
not unlike our huzzaing, as most of them had probably never 648
seen a Europæan before and apparently had collected for that [133]
purpose. They immediately seperated to let Poulaho pass, who took [609]
us into a small inclosure and shifted the piece of cloth he wore for a
new piece neatly folded that was carried by a young man. An old [576]
woman assisted in dressing him and put a mat over his cloth, as we [292]
supposd to prevent its being dirtied when he sat down, but to our
great surprize on asking where Mareewagee was he said he had gone
from the place just before we arriv'd to the ship. He however desir'd [344]
us to walk with him up to a Ma'laee (a house of public resort or
perhaps worship)[1] which was near half a mile up, but when we came to
a large Area before it he sat down in the path and desird us to walk
to the house, which we did & sat down in front while the crowd that
followd us fill'd up the rest.

After sitting a little while Omaee went to enquire if he meant we
should see Mareewagee, but he either not understanding him or
interpreting his answer into an equivocal one we walkd about a little
and the Captain then ask'd to see his house, which he seem'd averse
to though he promis'd it before; upon which suspecting we should
not be able to see the person we went back to the boat, & just at our
departure three men with leaves strung about their necks sat down
near Poulaho and began to repeat something with a serious air which
we did not stay to hear finish'd. We also met several people coming [431]
with Baskets of Yams & hogs which were sent to the boat after us,
but the Capt^{n} was so chagrin'd at his disappointment that he would
not receive them nor a bale of cloth that was sent after us by a Canoe.

It is difficult to tell whether our disappointment was only accidental
or designed by Poulaho, for on enquiring at our return to the ship
no such person as Mareewagee had been there. I am however inclin'd [123]
to think it arose partly from our not understanding them perfectly,
and that had we waited a sufficient time we might perhaps have seen
the old man, as they mention'd some thing about a chief who would
come presently when they found us determind to go away.

The small tent for making Astronomical observations, with that 114
from the Discovery, were fixd to day immediately on the point at no
great distance from the other tent. A pretty brisk trade for provisions 439
carried on with the natives, a great many of whom came off to the
ship.

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[1] It was not the house that was the *mala'e*, but the cleared space in front of it; and the Tongan *mala'e* was not a place of worship.

535 They danc'd and recited sentences with some very short intervals for
533 about half an hour, sometimes quickly sometimes more slowly, but
with such a degree of exactness as if all the motions had been made by
one man, which did them great credit. Near the end the hind rank
divided, came round and took the place of the front as in the first
dance, which again resum'd its situation, and when they finish'd the
Drums and Chorus again went off.

Three drums (which always took two, sometimes three men to
[482] carry them) were brought in and seventy men sat down as a Chorus
[534] to the third dance, which consisted of two ranks of sixteen each with
[292] a chief nam'd Toobou (not the one mentiond before) at their head,
[287] who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment cover'd with red
feathers, an article much esteem'd here. These danc'd, sung and
twirl'd the Pagge as before, but in general much quicker and so well
535 that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion
chiefly approv'd was one in which they held their faces aside as if
293 asham'd & the Pagge before it. The hind rank clos'd before the first
and that again resum'd its place as at the other dances, but they
began again, form'd a triple row, divided, retreated to each end and
left the greatest part of the ground clear, on which two men enter'd
very hastily and excercis'd the clubs which they use in battle. They
did this by first twirling the club in their hands and making circular
strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so exactly
together that though standing quite close they never interfer'd. They
shifted them to the opposite hands with equal dexterity, and after
continuing a little time kneeld & made different motions, tossing the
club up in the air which they caught as it fell, and went off as hastily
535 as they entered. Their heads were cover'd with a piece of white cloth
292 tied at the crown almost like a night cap, with a wreath of foliage
round the forehead, but they had only a very small piece of cloth
made of thread almost like what our girls sow upon at school ty'd
about the middle, seemingly that they might be cool & free from any
535 incumbrance or weight. A person with a spear dress'd like the former
then came in, also in a hasty manner, & look'd about eagerly as if he
wanted some body to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of
the crowd in the front and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if
he meant to strike with it at one of them, bending the knee a little
and trembling as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only
a few seconds when he came quickly over to the other side and put
himself in the same posture at two of us who stood together, &
standing about the same time retreated from the ground as fast as he
had appear'd. The two partys of dancers, who had divided, kept

538 repeating sentences very softly but with little action, which is commonly
one of the most applauded parts. At the same time the mere
[537] acting part independent of that is well worth our notice, both with
respect to the extensive plan on which it is executed and the various
motions, as well as the exact unity with which they are perform'd;
though I did not observe that these were always regulated by the
drums, which sometimes beat very quickly while these were slow, but
the sentences they repeated or mode of their song constantly accorded
with the motions. It has still one greater merit, which is that in most
nations which we say are unciviliz'd these things are often instituted
with an intention to raise and nourish many of the most mischievous
passions, such as rage, an obstinate contempt of death, desire of
revenge and others tending to the disquietude and destruction of
mankind, wheras this to appearance inculcates the very reverse in
every respect. Each motion is made in the gentlest manner, and
without those violent efforts which argue an exertion of rage; every
word that is spoke, though not understood, might from the manner
of its delivery be suppos'd to convey a gentle love tale instead of
inspiring rancorous sentiments or brutal ferocity; and every face
instead of a sullen frown or distortions which raise terror wears an
aspect so placid and benevolent that it is impossible to associate the
idea of barbarity along with it.

535 At night we were entertain'd with the Bo'mai,[1] or night dances, on
a space before Feenous temporary habitation. They lasted for about
three hours, in which time we had about twelve different ones perform'd
much after the same manner as those at Hapaee, but in two
that were perform'd by women a number of men came and form'd
a circle within theirs, and in another consisting of twenty four men
there were a number of motions with the hands that we had not seen
[634] before which were highly applauded. The music was also once
[533] chang'd tonight and Feenou appeard at the head of fifty men who
[292] had danc'd at Ha'paee, in one well dress'd with linnen, a large piece
[301] of gauze and some pictures hung round his neck. But it was evident
after the diversion was ended what inconvenience we had put these
519 good people to, or rather themselves, for being drawn together on
this uninhabited spot numbers of them were oblig'd to lye down and
sleep under the bushes, by the side of a tree or canoe; and many
either lay down in the open air, which they are not fond of, or walk'd
about all the night.

132 WEDNESDAY 18th. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with fine

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[1] *po me'e*, 'night of dancing'.

764 remarkable except a Fyatocka of one house standing on an artificial mount at least thirty feet high. A little on one side there is a pretty
644 large open Area and not far from it a good deal of uncultivated ground, which upon enquiring why it lay waste they seem'd to say
311 belong'd to that place which was Poulahos, and not by any means to be touch'd. There was also at no great distance a number of E'toa
196 Trees on which clung millions of the large Ternate Bats[1] making a disagreeable noise. We could not kill any at this time for want of muskets, but some that were got at Anna'mooka measur'd near three feet when the wings were extended.

On returning our host orderd the hog that had been dress'd to be
648 brought, with several baskets of bak'd yams and some Cocoa nuts,
574 but we found that instead of his entertaining us we were to entertain
264 him, the property of the feast being entirely transferr'd to us his guests who were to dispose of it as we pleas'd. The person who cleand
[262] it in the morning cut it up (but not before we desird him) in a very dexterous manner with a knife of split Bamboo, dividing the several parts with such quickness and hit the joints so exactly that surpriz'd us very much. The whole was set down before us, though at least fifty pound weight, untill we took a small piece away and desir'd they would share the rest amongst the people sitting round, but it was not without a great many scruples they did that at last, and then ask'd what particular people they should give it to. They were however very well pleas'd when they found it not contrary to any custom of ours, some carrying off the portion that was given them and others eating it on the spot, but it was with great difficulty we could prevail on Futtafaihe himself to eat a small bit.

After dinner we went with Futtafaihe and five or six people who
765 attended him to the same place where Poulaho had carried us in the
[114] morning the last time we were at Mooa, but not into the inclosure. They hung some leaves about their neck in walking to it as he had
[824] done, and when we came to a large open boat house where a few people were they threw away their leaves, sat down before it and
[304] gave their cheeks a few gentle strokes with the fist, after which they sat for about ten minutes with a very grave appearance & went away
[292] without having spoke a single word. Every person who went to this house of mourning had a mat tied over the cloth they wore which was also the case the day Poulaho went. This explaind what Poulaho had mentiond about Tooge, though from the beating only lasting a few seconds he had not been observ'd to do it; and this seems only a

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[1] *Pteropus tonganus*; Cf. Bayly, II, p. 263, n. 3. This was evidently the bat that the Tongans called *tauoetoa*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

439 the Hogs or breadfruit, & tho' it was a contraband Trade it was
[648] prosecuted with the greatest Activity & Spirit in defiance of the
severe Penalties with which it was loaded, & in Contempt of that
[565] Danger which attended the Prosecution of this fraudulent & lucrative
Traffick. This Article was no other than red Feathers. It must be
[171] remembered that at Otaheite red Feathers are prized above anything
whatsoever, they being the most valuable offering they make to their
Gods & very scarce at that Island as they have no birds with red
Plumage, this Circumstance was found out by our Circumnavigators
last Voyage, who happening to bring a few red feathers with them
from the Marqeses found what great Value the Otaheiteans set upon
them, preferring them to every thing they had got. This being
universally known in the two Ships it is no wonder that every one
endeavoured to supply himself with a good Stock at these Islands
where they are so plentiful, tho' these people get them from another
Island. The Indians in a short time perceving our eagerness after
them raised the Price of them, so that at last they became so dear
that it was hardly worth our while to purchase them, as the Hatchets
& Shirts we gave them would fetch as much at Otaheite as the small
Quantity of Feathers they gave us for them. However every one
provided himself with a good Stock before we left these Islands &
[292] they turned out to very good Account at Otaheite. The Inhabitants
[301] make Caps of them & various Ornaments for their Dresses, those
they sold us were pasted on Cloth, & had a very beautiful appearance.

Some of us used to go every day shooting wild Ducks, a great
122 number of which were met with on a large Lagoon & some Ponds in
609 the interior Part of the Island, the Indians would generally attend us
& look out for them & when they were shot run into the Pond &
241 fetch them out. Along the large lagoon which occupies a great part
of the middle of ye Island are most delightful walks shaded from the
361 Sun by the branches that meet together over head; the Country
262 throughout is exceedingly well cultivated & has the appearance of a
beautiful Garden; nothing can be more agreeable than the Inclosures
in which their Houses stand, round which the bread fruit & Plantain
Trees grow & extend their friendly Shade over the Natives, while
they sit beneath them partaking of a delicious & wholesome Meal
supplyed by those trees that spread their umbrageous Leaves to
133 defend them from the Rays of too near a Sun. Such enchanting
Prospects does this little Isle afford that it may be said to realize the
poetical Descriptions of the Elysian Fields in ancient Writers, it is
certainly as beautiful a Spot as Immagination can paint; there are
small Hills here & there to vary the prospect, tho' they rise to no

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Spectators. The Indians are divided into two Parties, the Wrestlers 526
go out from each Side one, two, or three as it happens. The Wrestling 648
is generally introduced by the Boys of ab^t^ 6 or 7 years old, & is then
taken up by older ones & so on till the old men themselves are at last 541
engaged, tho' they seldom make their appearance till the boxing is [177]
introduced, where more Manhood & Skill is required. He who goes
out first gives a formal Challenge to all round by laying the left Arm [201]
across the Breast & striking it hard with the right hand open, which
gives a smart Sound; as he continues to do this he runs with a [292]
moderate pace up & down the Circle, and if no one comes out to
answer the Challenge which is performed in the same manner, he
continues it till he arrives at the place from whence he set out & then
takes his seat, but it seldom happens that he does not meet with an
Opponent; when they close they lay hold of each other by a platted
Girdle which they put on for this purpose. In general the Contest is [643]
but short; when it is ended both the Victor and vanquished rise &
pay their respects to Powlohow by sitting down before him cross [576]
legg'd & touching his feet with their Heads, after which they return
to their respective Sides. He that is conquered retires silently, while [539]
the other as he goes off repeats the Challenge and is received by his
Party with a Song of Triumph, which is repeated very loud in a kind
of recitative; the Words are 'Too way Hey O mār tŏ yo ē',[1] the first
word is sung by a single person & the rest in full Chorus by the
Party to which the Conqueror belonged. A Continuance of the
Exercise excites their Emulation & the young Men grow impatient
for the lists, this sometimes brings on half a dozen matches at
once, which when those who seemed to sit as Judges & Conductors
of the Games perceived they put a stop to them by introducing the
Boxing.

The first step taken in this Exercise is to bind the clenched fist 526
with a small Chord so that it cannot be opened; this done, he who
gives the Challenge goes out & with a kind of a half jump & half hop
advances slowly & with a becoming Carriage from one end of the
ring to the other, & instead of the form used to challenge at wrestling,
he brandishes his fists, collects & dilates his body into several kinds of
guards & attacks, which he continues till his antagonist shews himself
at the other end of the Circle & advances to meet him, who comes
on with the same parade and Gestures as the other; they loose no
time, they just put themselves in a posture of defence and the attack

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[1] *Tu'u ai he 'a mou tu e*, 'Stand up and shout hurrah', an expression still current at weddings [585]
and other festive gatherings. The lengthening and distortion of vowels in a shouted
recitative would account for the peculiarities of Samwell's version.

our Cloth & matting very strong & neatly made, some of these are 291
brown others quite white & they are always fringed. They have also
various kinds of Matts with fringes & tossels worked on them which 292
they wear upon extraordinary Occasions, they also wear over all
round the middle a dress made of Leaves more for ornament than 301
use, & they wear one like it but less about their necks, which they
also ornament with Necklaces made of Shells, but these soon gave
way to our blue beads of which they were extravagantly fond both
men & women. The common Dress of the Chiefs & which seemed to 565
distinguish them from the common people was a large piece of Cloth
round their waist & plaited at the upper part, which is done by the 291
women with the same Care & nicety as Shirts are plaited in England
tho' the folds are not near so fine. This was no unbecoming Dress,
they oil their Hair & Shoulders with Cocoa nut oil after bathing, & [302]
thus dress'd and decorated an Amsterdam Chief cuts no despicable
appearance. They wear their Hair long, flowing over their Shoulders,
but they are obliged to cut it off on particular Occasions such as the 302
Death of the Chiefs or of their relations, and for the same Reason 763
both men & women & even Children cut off their little fingers: many
of them have both cut off, there are but very few that have not lost 304
one, they cut it off just underneath the first joint, tye up the Stump 752
with grass & leaves[1] & it soon heals, they cut them off with stone
Chizels & then bury them in the ground. Their Arms & Cheek bones 304
are also marked in memory of the dead. Their walk is strait & 765
majestic & their manners free & open. In their Dispositions they are
friendly hospitable & humane, very tender to & careful of old People 181
and the Sick, & civil & obliging to each other, treat their women well. [516]
I was much pleased with the following instance of their gratitude
which I happened to be a witness to. A large Sailing Canoe having
got her rigging entangled with the Resolution's driver boom was in 431
danger of carrying away her Mast, & the Indians had made several
Efforts but in vain to disengage it, which a young Gentleman who
had the Watch upon deck observing ordered one of the Men to
assist them, who thinking it no part of his duty growled about it &
was very unwilling to go, on which the gentleman jumped on the
boom himself & got the Canoe clear; the Indians then insisted upon
his accepting a large bunch of Cocoa nuts as a present for the Service
he had done them, but this he would not accept tho' he was much
pleased with the Offer.

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[1] There can have been no uniformity of treatment. Anderson speaks of no treatment at all; Mariner says (II, p. 179) that after the operation the stump was merely 'held in the smoke and steam arising from the combustion of fresh-plucked grass', this stopping the flow of blood.

[1777]

175 able, upon account of the various Isles and reefs (which are delineated in
the Survey) that a good deal interrupt and impede your Navigation;
175 however we anchor'd off them very well on the 17 Instant. Here we likewise
found our friend Feenow, Lord of all, and he certainly did behave in
634 a very friendly, liberal manner, making us large Presents of Hogs, Yams
609 &c, for which, tho' he was ever amply rewarded, still I give him Credit,
for it certainly has a more generous and social appearance than that of
absolute bargaining.

[177] On the 20th Instant by his desire the Party of Marines from both Ships
were taken on shore and exercised before him and his Court; they seem'd
much pleas'd at their various Maneuvres, and perfectly happy at their
175 Entertainment. As soon as our People had done, Feenow with about an
hundred of his principal Men got up and in return gave us a dance (what
609 they call a heavah) to the Tune of their Drums, and some Men who set
535 round the Drummers, at the same time singing; the Dancers all join'd in
[533] the vocal Musick and accompanied their bodily Movements with those
of a light wooden Implement between 2 & 3 feet in length (the form as in
[293] the Margin)[1] which they have for this Purpose. The amazing exactitude of
their various Motions, both with this implement and every joint of their
Body, and the perfect Time in their musick surpass'd every thing I had the
least Idea of; their motions were infinitely more uniform than any Company
[292] of Soldiers I ever saw exercise in my Life. They were decorated upon
this Occasion, with Cloth of various Colours, which set off their Persons,
that were by Nature exceeding good, to much Advantage; this with the
perfect regularity of their motions gave them a most striking and pleasing
175 Appearance. The Evening concluded with Fireworks, with which Capt
Cook treated them: they were exceedingly amaz'd at the extraordinary
177 revolutions of the Water Rockets in the Water; this must appear to them
indeed most wonderfull, that two of the most opposite Elements in Nature,
shou'd, for such a length of Time, seemingly act in conjunction.

175 Feenow during our Stay here treated us with many Heavah's and
Amusements of various kinds; some perform'd by Women, these were
609 generally in the Evening after Sunset; but we were very well illumin'd by
535 burning the dry'd Leaf of the Palm Tree and some ribs of the Coco Nut
[372] Leaf, on which was stuck Nuts containing an oily Substance, which
infusing itself into the Stalk and communicating the Oil as it melted from
one to the other, gave a light by no means inferior to our Candles. The
[292] Ladies were peculiarly attir'd for these Exhibitions in various colour'd
robes, in which they look'd very gracefull and beautifull; they perform'd
to the Musick of Drums and singing, were perfectly regular in their
Motions, which however were to us altogether novel, curious & laughable;
the seeing us laugh'd and pleased contributed much to their festivity and
every thing was conducted with the utmost good humour and Cordiality.
175 If there [was] such a Sensation as Anxiety felt among the Group, it was in
609 the vying of the Performers and Spectators which shou'd most emphati-

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[1] There is no drawing in the margin. The 'instrument' was the *paki*.

175 such apparent depression of Mind (I suppose in consequence of its happening
before severall of us to whom he had beking'd himself) that I cou'd
634 not help participating in a great measure in his distress; indeed I am not
643 much surpriz'd at this Usurpation of Feenow's, for he certainly concluded
that the more honorary and dignified he shou'd appear, the more he might
be able to get from us; was this the case I cannot conceive it for Indians,
who have so few opportunities of the kind, very illaudable; upon this
Principle he wou'd have the Sanction of the Bulk of Mankind both
humaniz'd and wild to plead in his excuse, for I think it seems a pretty
general maxim with most Men to make as much of their Neighbours, or
any other incidental Connexion as they conveniently can; but to proceed.

On the 8th we again departed from Rotterdam and stood for Amsterdam,
175 where we anchor'd on the 11th Instant. Here we found a repetition
609 of the Civilities we had experienc'd at the other Isles, abuntantly enjoying
the many good things, with which all bountifull Providence seems in a
175 peculiar manner to bless these happy Isles. We were here soon given to
understand there was a Man at a little distance still greater than Powlahow;
643 Capt Cook and myself beg'd to be conducted to him, that we might
576 have the honour of paying our respects; this we address'd to Powlahow,
292 who answer'd that nobody was admitted to his Presence with their
Cloaths on; if we did go to him, we must be naked to the Waist, and at the
same time added he wou'd ere now have visited the Ships, but was given
to understand by those who had been on board, that during their Stay in
the Captains Apartment, which of course was the principal one of the
Ship, there were People walk'd over their Heads; this he said Mallawogga,[1]
which was the Name of this formidable Chief, cou'd not possibly admit of,
for any Man in Nature being above his Head wou'd be consider'd as a
[123] diminution to his Honour, and an insult to his Consequence. To these
extraordinary arguments we return'd, that our King never exacted any
such Mark of respect as stripping before him, that we pull'd our Hats off
in his Presence, which we were ready to do in King Mallawogga's; that it
was highly preposterous in King Mallawogga to think of more respect
from us than King George, who was so infinitely a greater Prince, whose
Subjects were so numerous, that we were so very inconsiderable a part as
wou'd scarcely ever be miss'd were we never more to appear at Home; yet
we trifling handfull of King George's subjects cou'd with all ease dispossess
or even destroy King Mallawogga and every subject he had got; having
thus argued with Powlahow, he engaged to carry us the next Morning
to Mallawogga's and favour us so far as to introduce us with our
Cloaths on.

175 Accordingly on the Morrow, which was the 13th Instant, I attended
Capt Cook, & having first equip'd ourselves with some of our choisest
643 presents for this mighty Prince, we set out in our Boats with Powlahow for
123 the regal Apartments. After a Row of about 2 Leagues, which was latterly
609

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[1] Macaliuaki. Clerke seems to hear an *l* in names where others—e.g. Cook—hear an *r*.

535 The Tongans when seeing a modern rendition of the Hawaiian dance move-
829 ment _'uwehe_ in which the knees were opened to the sides, were shocked
(traditionally in Hawaii this movement is done bending the knees
535 forward). A group of school children in Tonga did a take-off on
857 ballet for a program but refused to use their upper legs as is proper
in ballet which caused their performance to have very little resem-
blance to classical ballet.

535 Movement of the upper leg is hindered by a tightly wrapped _vala_,
292 a garment which extends from waist to knee for both men and women.
Traditionally this wrap-around skirt-like covering was made of tapa;
today it is made of cloth. Only during dances do the women wear the
[291] _vala_ to the knees. For ordinary street wear women wear the _vala_
extending from waist to ankle under Western style clothes. 'Tradi-
tional' Tongan dance costumes used today consist of a _vala_ of tapa
(or cloth) completely covered with ti leaves, shells, seeds, or layers
of tapa. On top of this dancers wear a waist mat (_ta'ovala_) of
woven pandanus or a flower or leaf girdle (_sisi_) which extends down-
ward several inches from the waist. This clothing not only restricts
movements of the hips and upper legs but also hides any movement
made there.

[824] Today for one type of dance called _tau'olunga_ a skirt of shredded
hibiscus inner bark (_fau_) is sometimes worn, especially for informal
535 or tourist type occasions. During this kind of dance the movements
of the legs are a bit more free, but it is always the lower leg which

[447 cont.]

000
175 out of the boat. A party of the marines were posted on the beach
648 in case of danger, to protect the captain's clerk, who traded for
[439] provisions. The natives did not express either surprize or dislike
at this proceeding, perhaps because they were unacquainted with its
175 meaning. They received us with acclamations of joy as at Ea-oowhe,
609 and desired us to sit down with them on the rocks along shore, which
133
consisted of coral, and were covered with shell sand. We purchased
175
439 several beautiful parroquets, pigeons, and doves, which they brought
231 to us perfectly tame; and our young Borabora-man Mahine (or Hedeedee)
237 traded with great eagerness for ornaments made of bright red
feathers, which he assured us had an extraordinary value at Taheitee
175 and the Society Islands. Here they were commonly pasted to aprons
292 used in their dances, and made of the fibres of [448] coco-nut,
237
824 or fixed upon banana leaves, forming rhomboidal frontlets or diadems, &c.
000 With a degree of extasy which gave the greatest weight to his assertion,
he shewed us that a little piece of feathered-work, as broad as two
or three fingers, would purchase the largest hog in his island.
114 Both this youth and O-Mai were much pleased with the inhabitants of
175 these islands, and began to understand their language tolerably well.

175 We left the beach after the first acquaintance with the natives,
311 and ascended a few feet into a wild forest consisting of tall trees,
[137] intermixed with shrubberies. This wood though narrow, being in
many places not above one hundred yards wide, was continued along
the shore of Van Diemen's road, being more or less open in various
parts. Beyond it the whole island was perfectly level. We walked
across a piece of uncultivated land, about five hundred yards wide,
which adjoined to the wood. Part of it appeared to have been planted

[453 cont.]

175 that if we suppose a gradual diminution of the sea, at the rate
133 which they pretend to have observed in Sweden (14), the emersion of
this island must be of so modern date, that it is matter of astonishment how it came to be covered with soil, herbage, and forests; so well stocked with inhabitants, and so regularly adorned as we really
175 found it. We picked up a quantity of shells at the foot of the steep
126 rock, where we sometimes waded in water to the knees upon a reef, on
175 account of the flood tide which was advancing. We likewise met with
439 several natives returning from the trading-place, who sold us a
[286] number of fish-hooks and ornaments, a fish-net made like our casting-nets, knit of very firm though slender threads, some [454] mats and
[292] pieces of cloth. We likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting
[531] of many wheels or stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or
[286] four inches in diameter, cohering together by the projecting points, and ornamented with small red feathers and beads cut out of shells.
175 Finding that the water encreased too fast upon us, we looked out
123 for an ascent to the top of the rock, and having with some difficulty
241 found one, we re-entered the plantations, where we observed the weeds
175 rooted out with great care and laid in heaps to dry. After a long
123 walk, during which we missed our way, and engaged one of the natives to become our guide, we entered a long narrow lane between two fences, which led us directly to the Fayetooca or burying-place we had left before. Here we found captains Cook and Furneaux, and Mr. Hodges,
[565] with a great number of natives, seated on the fine lawn. They were in conversation with an old blear-eyed man, who had a good deal of weight among the rest of the people, and was always accompanied

14. See the Memoirs of the Swedish Academy of Sciences at Stockholm.

[472 cont.]

175 123 before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend
[648] joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was
something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow,
our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him
with an opportunity to exercise his talents. We continued strolling
about for some time, without [473] any sinister accident, and returned
to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the
175 people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different
571 little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and
[517] consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in
conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished
the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with
175 singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular,
142 whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling
302 with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what
was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in
175 graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her
524 actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples,
perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another
continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity,
175 at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed
533 the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oowhe, the different
184 voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes
175 joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives
535 of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list
292 of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts
124 439 and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of

175 [473 cont.]
535 of coco-nut core, and ornamented with shell-work and red feathers,
124 or such [474] as were curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of
[292] [439] fretwork. From these gestures I have great reason to suppose that
[171] their dances are of a dramatic kind, and public, like those which
175 I have spoken of in the Society Isles, (See pag. 398). Schouten
171 and Le Maire likewise strongly confirm this supposition by their
[535] account of the dances at Horne Island (24). It appeared, upon
the whole, that the customs and language of these islanders have
a great affinity with those of the Taheitians, and that it would
not therefore be very singular to find a coincidence even in their
amusements. The greatest differences between these two tribes,
who must have originated from the same stock, seem to be owing to
the different nature of their islands. The Society Isles are well
furnished with wood, and the tops of their mountains are still
[311] covered with inexhaustible forests. At the Friendly Isles this
[137] article is much scarcer, the surface (at least of those which we
[342] have seen) being almost entirely laid out in plantations. The natural
consequence is, that the houses are lofty and of immense extent in
the first group of islands; but much smaller and less convenient in
[501] the last. In one the canoes are numerous, I may almost say innumerable,
and many of a vast size, and, in the other, very few in number, and
175 much smaller. The mountains of the Society Isles continually attract
171 the vapours from the atmosphere, and many rivulets descend [475]
312 from the broken rocks into the plain, where they wind their serpentine
course and glide smoothly to the sea. The inhabitants of those
islands take advantage of this gift of bountiful nature, and not

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24. See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. II. p. 47.

857 were throwing a stone. The end of the *fau* bark held in the hand is
524 released and the arrow shoots off to a great distance.

A bow and arrow game, *gahau*, is played with a very slender, supple *kaho* stick. The bow is made from a stout orange stick.

For the boys' game of *maka ta*, an implement very much like the modern slingshot is used. The bark of tapa or *fau* is used for the sling and a small pebble for ammunition. The sling is swung around the head full force, and the pebble thereby released and shot out into the air.

535 A Tongan dance (*lakalaku*) may be performed by any number of
people of both sexes. The leader (*bunake*), composes the dance,
[565] teaches it, and leads the dancers. He chooses leaders (*vahegas*) for
both the men's and women's parts, who must be of chiefly rank, as
no one considers the *lakalaka* worth watching unless the *vahega* belongs to the family of a chief. The words and music (*hiva usu*) for the *lakalaka* have been handed down from early times.

The *fahaiula* is a dance participated in by women only. The dancing is done to the sound of drums, with groups of girls sitting around singing and clapping hands to keep time for the dancers.

857 A game for small children (*aamoa*) is played by ten or more
524 little girls and an old woman. The old woman covers herself with a
piece of *gatu* or tapa cloth and tries to frighten the children, who run to escape her.

The game *fisi* is for both sexes. A rolled mat (*tapakau*) is placed on end with a stick on either side to support it; the children have small dried pieces of dried *fau* wood which they try to send over the top of the mat with one sharp clip of the finger.

CLOTHING OF WOMEN

291 The material used in most of the clothing worn by Tongan women
287 in the early days was made from *feta'aki* (white tapa cloth before
[294] it had been dyed or printed). The leaves of certain trees were also
[283] used, coconut fiber serving as thread for sewing them together.

Funeral garments were made from leaves blackened by several
292 764 days' exposure to the sun. These leaves were sewed together with
[412] a needle made from the small rib of the coconut leaf, the bark of the
[283] *fau* tree serving as thread.

A more modern method of dyeing the tapa cloth for funerals
287 386 is as follows: The natives gather a great pile of candle nuts (*tutui*),

remove them from the shells and set them alight. The flesh of several 287
coconuts is added to the fire and an empty kerosene can with the 386
lid removed is hung over the flames. Black soot collects in the can, and is later scraped out and mixed with the scraped bark of the *koka* tree to make a jet-black dye.

The garments made for weddings were in two parts; the blouse 292
or upper covering being of *feta'aki,* and the loin cloth or lower robe 585
of *gafigafi.* At both weddings and funerals a mat (*kie*) was made from *gafigafi* leaves which had been boiled and bleached in the sun. The *gafigafi* tree is now extinct in Tonga, and has been replaced by the *fa* tree.

For dances and native festivals, a dress was made by sewing to- 292
gether the leaves of the *kulutumu* tree and the *limu fonua,* the latter 294
a kind of creeping moss. Both these plants are now rare in Tongatabu, but are found in abundance on the island of Eua.

NAMING THE CAPITAL OF TONGA

The capital of Tonga was known originally as Kolofoou, later 103
changed to Nukualofa by the wish of King George Tubou I and his high chiefs. The name was probably taken from that of a rock which stands on the shore at Nukunuku, directly opposite the island of Feleave. The correct name of the rock is said to be Nuualofa, (The Land of Love). It is thought that Captain Cook used this idea in naming the whole group "The Friendly Islands," or "The Islands of Love" (Otu Aga Ofa).

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY

(A NATIVE ACCOUNT)

A man appointed to the rank of Muliki Haamea lived on a prop- 173
erty at Mua, just by the property Tatakamotoga and Tugis property, 425
Vatulova. As this chief Muliki Haamea was being escorted to Hihifo to be declared Tui Haamea, he was waylaid and murdered by the chiefs of the Hihifo district, on the beach road just opposite the village of Nukunuku, and his body was taken and left on the big rock called Nukualofa. His murderers then went to Hihifo and a man named Togalava heard of what had taken place; he was living at a village called Haateiho and he begged another young man to go with him to see if there was any truth in this story that he had just heard

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

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HER MAJESTY QUEEN SALOTE TUBOU, D. B. E.

[p. ii]

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92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

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304 Plate *1a*. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.
782 Plate *1b*. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.
292 Plate *1c*. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.
764 Plate *2a*. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.
765 Plate *2b*. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.
285 Plate *2c*. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.
531 Plate *3a*. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).
127 Plate *3b*. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).
293 Plate *4a*. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.
714 Plate *4b*. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.
301 Plate *5a*. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.
535 Plate *5b*. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.
534 Plate *6a*. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.
000 Plate *6b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.
Plate *7a*. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.
Plate *7b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.
Plate 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

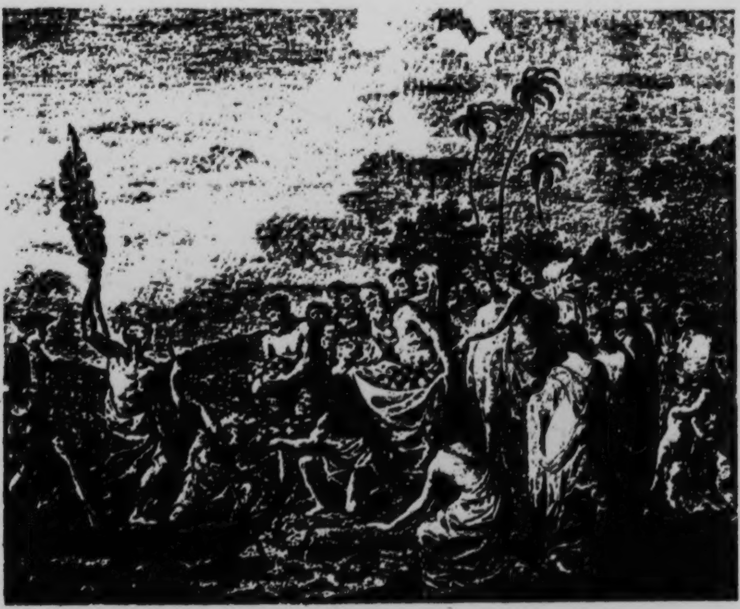

PLATE 1*a*.

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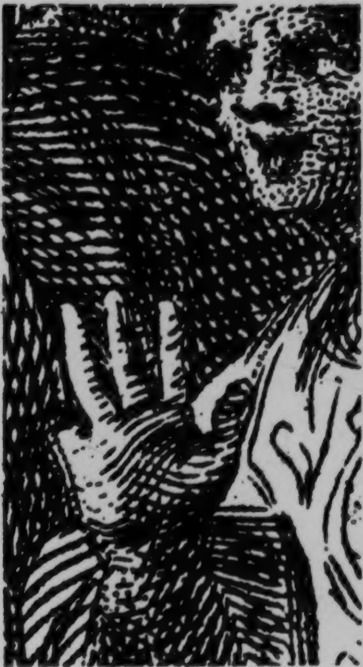

PLATE 1*b*.

PLATE 1*c*.

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[End Plate 1]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga / OU9

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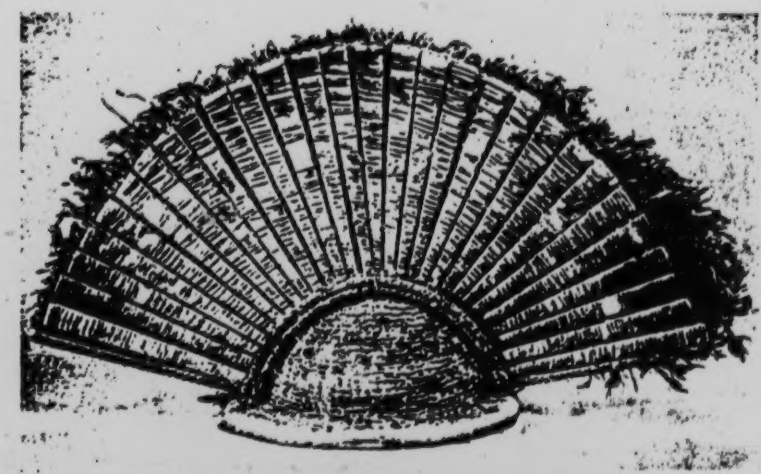

PLATE 3a.

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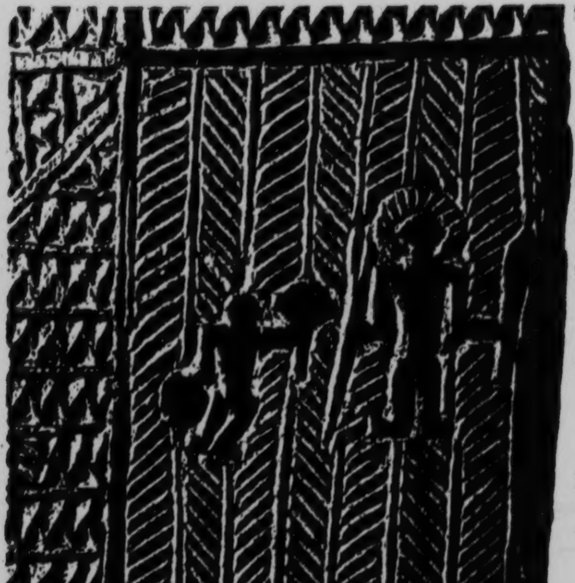

PLATE 3b.

[End Plate 3]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

175 as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank.
765 Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before
(Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala,
554 i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line
612 were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning
ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
● [292] Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all
dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat
round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his
612 *kāinga*. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at
602 the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged
764 mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1c). A
765 Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the
292 queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the
most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

121 In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few
types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships
of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs
175 met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and
565 also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.[8]
554 These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class
structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's
126 voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the
285 most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or
[431] one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal
ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own,
being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known
285 today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may
127 be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they
may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have
been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as
Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Matts
175 of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and beding. Their
285 Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the
291 breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or
upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole
1961: 266–7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual
[554] symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only
wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces ... or the
Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967:
175 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:
285
513

A.[See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

169). And, as mentioned above, ragged mats were worn for mourning ceremonies. 175 285
However, Cook does not list the function of mats as ceremonial gifts, which is [513]
understandable because he did not attend complete funeral or wedding ceremonies [292]
—the main occasions of ceremonial giving. [765]

Forster's *Catalogue of curiosities* lists eight plaited items, seven of which are called [431]
mats and one an apron, and George Forster mentions 'their elegant mats, which for 127
workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee' (1777: I, 439). 285

Number 53 in the Forster collection is listed as 'a strong matt, with a black pattern' (plate 2*a*).[A] It is made of light-coloured pandanus (127 cm. × 207 cm.) decorated with a diagonal pattern of black pandanus, and appears to be unfinished if spread out. This item may be a *ta'ovala la*. According to Tongan tradition certain [565] *matāpule* (ceremonial attendants), whose function it was to supervise ceremonies such as installations of title holders and funerals of chiefs, wore a waist mat decorated with black pandanus that came to a point in the back. If this mat were folded diagonally and then wrapped, the design would be on the outside, a triangle would hang to the back, and the part that was folded inside need not be decorated. The only other example of a *ta'ovala la* so far located is in the Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, and it is plaited so that one side comes to a triangular point and need not be folded.

Item Number 56, listed as a mat 'pierced with holes' (plate 2*b*),[A] is probably one of the items George Forster described in his journal as aprons, 'curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of fretwork' (1777: I, 474). This type of garment is a *kie fau* [314] or *teunga fau* and is made of the inner bark of the hibiscus tree (*fau*) that has been partially rotted in sea water. The texture is fine and delicate, and the manufacture is a difficult enterprise in contrast to the plaiting of sturdy pandanus mats. *Kie fau* were worn as waist mats only by chiefs—*kie fau* indicating chiefly rank, just as wearing the *ta'ovala la* indicated that one was a certain kind of *matāpule*.

There are three different types of *kie fau*. The type represented by the Pitt Rivers example (160 cm. × 86 cm.) is plaited with square holes and has a fringe of tabs sewn on with twisted *'olongā* (*Pipturus argenteus*) fibre. A second type with much more openwork is found in Museum collections in Cambridge, Dublin, Bern, and Newcastle—all of which have Cook collections—but it is not always known that these particular specimens are from Cook's voyages. The third kind of *kie fau* has small plaited tabs that form an upper layer plaited out from a solid bottom layer. This type is in the Cook collections in Vienna and Stockholm, and there is one in Madrid that was collected by the Spaniard Malaspina in Vava'u in 1792. The manufacture of these types of *kie fau* was probably discontinued in the early nineteenth century. Today *fau* fibre is crocheted into openwork patterns for similar, but more [178] easily made, decorative pieces that can be worn by anyone. The openwork technique is still known, but the more easily worked pandanus is used instead of *fau*. The functional replacement of the *kie fau*, i.e., the chief's waist mat, is now a soft, [439] fine pandanus mat decorated with red feathers and imported from Samoa. This suggests that when the Tongan high ranking *kie fau* ceased to be made there was nothing of local manufacture that was of high enough status to replace it, and a foreign product was brought in.

But the most precious of all the plaited items to the Tongans, and to Cook's men [175
as well, were the so-called 'aprons of cocoanut fibre'. Cook described them in his 531]

[A] [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

531

127 second voyage Journal. 'They have ... a curious apron, made of the out side
285 fibres of the Cocoanut shell and composed of a number of small pieces sewed
[175] together in such a manner as to form stars, half Moons, little squars, etc., and studed
with beads of shells and covered with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1961: 272). The
Pitt Rivers example (plate 2c, 66 cm. × 66 cm.) is made of star-shaped elements,
each having a central section and 10 or 11 points. This item was described by George
285 Forster: 'we likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting of many wheels or
175 stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or four inches in diameter, cohering
531 together by the projecting points, and ornamented with small red feathers and
126 beads cut out of shells' (1777: I, 454). One element is decorated with a pig tooth
and the thirty-five elements are attached to a waistband that is unravelled at one
175 end. An examination of Forster's account tells us why.

> 285
> 126 We accidentally procured a quantity of these feathers at Amsterdam, one of the Friendly
> Isles, where they fastened them on pieces of their stuffs. These being carried to O-Taheitee,
> [435] and shared out in little pieces, procured us a great number of hogs; for a bit of two inches
> square, covered with feathers, would at any time, be eagerly purchased with a hog (1778:
> 207); when we came the second time in 1774, to O-Taheitee after we had been to Tonga
> Tabu, where the natives make various ornaments of red feathers, we procured for them not
> only numbers of hogs, the most valuable article of trade, but likewise mourning dresses,
> which the natives refused to part with before, when Mr Banks was there, and during our first
> stay in their happy isle. The rage after these trifling ornaments was so great, that Potatoa a
> chief, whose magnanimity and noble way of thinking, we never questioned before, wanted
> even to prostitute his own wife, for a parcel of these baubles (1778: 367).

285 These aprons are known in Tongan traditions as *sisi fale*, and were worn only by
127 high chiefs. Parts of at least twenty specimens of *sisi fale* have so far been recorded
[292] in museum collections. The usual elements are stars, rectangles, lozenges, crescents,
and ovals—the elements and their combinations being quite distinctive. An inter-
[531] esting example of secondary use of a Tongan *sisi fale* by Tahitians is that two elements were used to decorate one of their human images which is now in the British Museum (TAH. 63). These two elements—now mostly denuded of their red feathers—are used for a head covering and a loincloth. It is possible that the element that forms the loincloth of the image is part of the *sisi fale* now in the Pitt Rivers Museum and perhaps traded to the Tahitians by Forster. Unfortunately, the British Museum specimen does not have any accession or collection information. It is interesting to speculate that perhaps Cook collected it himself on his third voyage. The half of the *sisi fale* in the Pitt Rivers Museum is probably what was left after Forster shared out two inch squares to the Tahitians, perhaps for the very Tahitian mourning dress in the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Two parts of another *sisi fale* from Cook's voyages exist in Vienna and Florence. Both of these seem to have come from the sale of the Leverian Museum in London in 1806, and probably originally came from Cook's third voyage. Another *sisi fale* that can quite confidently be identified is in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Unfortunately, again there is no collection or accession information, but I suspect that it is the one depicted in Labillardière (1802: 32), and thus collected on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage in 1793. Only the Pitt Rivers *sisi fale*, however, can be traced
[175] to Cook's second voyage—probably for several reasons: the chiefs interacted with
during the second voyage were not the highest ones; Cook was not present during

A [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

127

occasions in which *sisi fale* were used; and those *sisi fale* that were obtained were 285
traded to the Tahitians for hogs, and mourning dresses and other curiosities. We [175)
must be ever grateful to Forster for saving at least half of his. There is also part of a
sisi fale in Göttingen, but according to the curator, this does not come from the
Forster part of the collection.

Cook explains the function of the *sisi fale* in his third voyage account. 'In their 285
great Haivas, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the 292
purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered [175)
more or less with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). No *sisi fale* exist today in [535]
Tonga, but according to tradition they were worn by high chiefs for ceremonial [531)
dress or dancing. A specimen in one collection is noted 'Kafolalanga worn by the [127)
Tamaha and the Tu'i Tonga on feast days.' The word is probably *kofulalanga*, [643)
which simply means woven dress. One of the examples in Florence is connected [644)
with the Tamaha in yet another way. The individual elements that make up the
sisi fale are a design used by the Tamaha. The design, a circle with an abstract tree, [531)
is said to represent an *'akau ha'amo*, carrying pole of a special kind of wood, used [482)
by the Ha'a Ngata to bring gifts to the Tamaha.

Also of feathers, and the most spectacular of all objects of indigenous Tongan 292
manufacture, were feather headdresses. These highest of visual symbols could be 554
worn only by the highest of chiefs—and perhaps only by the Tu'i Tonga himself. [643)
During Cook's third voyage sojourn in Tonga, Finau left Cook on May 23
ostensibly to go to Vava'u 'to get some red feathered caps for me [Cook] and 175
Omai to carry to Otaheite where they are in high esteem' (Beaglehole 1967: 112). 292
Finau seems not to have succeeded for he fabricates a story that the canoe was lost 554
in high wind. Anderson offers us an explanation: 'The truth probably was that he
found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if
he did get any and heard at Hapaee which lay in his way back that Poulaho had
been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at
the trouble' (Beaglehole 1967: 886).

Only Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, presents the treasure. 292

> [he] came on board betimes and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered with 554
> red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from knowing that they would be 643
> highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered not one was ever 175
> brought for sale, which shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a
> person in either Ship that got one but myself Capt. Clerke and Omai. These Caps or rather [435)
> bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets [237)
> worked upon them or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radius is 18 or 20 Inches; But a painting which Mr. Webber has made of Fattafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea of them (Beaglehole 1967: 117).

Two of these rare items were given to the Tahitians—but little did Cook know 175
that these feather headdresses were among the rarest of all Polynesian artefacts. 292
Cook wanted to procure hogs and perhaps Tahitian mourning dresses—but these 127
latter exist in relatively large numbers in museum collections. Mourning dresses [643)
were worn by a number of chiefs but probably only the Tu'i Tonga had feather
headdresses. Since two were given away by Cook, there was still a chance that one

175 more existed. There is a specimen in the Vienna collection—but we do not know
292 that it was collected on Cook's voyages. The accession information says only that it
127 came to the Museum für Völkerkunde from Belvedere Castle in 1877 (plate 3*a*).[9] A

The Cook collection in Vienna was purchased by Leopold von Fictell at the
127 Leverian sale in 1806. According to the annotated sale catalogue, Fictell did not
292 buy a Tongan feather headdress. However, one of the lots that he bought (1445)
was an 'Elegant feather head dress, Brazil' (Leverian Museum 1806: 61). As many of the Leverian lots were not assigned to the correct provenance, it is interesting to speculate that the headdress was in fact from Tonga, but not included in the Vienna Cook collection because Cook did not go to Brazil. Perhaps the Vienna specimen came from the Leverian sale, or from the sale of another private museum, or perhaps it is not from Cook's voyages at all. But it is the only example of a Tongan feather headdress identified so far. It is 31 cm. high and 54 cm. at its widest point.

292 According to well-informed Tongans the feather headdress is called *palā tavake*
643 and was worn only by the Tu'i Tonga. Tradition says that the last one was made for
175 Paulaho by Helu of Foa—perhaps to replace the ones given to Captain Cook.
554 Again, Cook's voyages have given us the only depicted example, the only good
description, and perhaps the only existing piece.

Paulaho died about 1784 and his line was defeated in civil wars shortly after.
643 Following this, there was no need for a *palā tavake* to show the divine exaltation
292 of the Tu'i Tonga because this line was no longer officially recognised. But the
[669] tradition of the headdresses was perpetuated in two quite different ways. Chiefs in
feather headdresses were carved on Tongan war clubs and these exist on several
532 museum specimens. The example depicted (plate 3*b*) is from the Peabody Museum,
292 Salem, Massachusetts. It would seem that the carving of human figures and other
[177] ideographs did not reach the peak of efflorescence until the coming of European
tools. Perhaps these carvings of chiefs in feather headdresses were stimulated by the high esteem placed on the headdresses by Europeans.

292 That the tradition of *palā tavake* was not forgotten is also shown by a dance text
533 composed by Queen Sālote in 1966:

643 Ke fataki nima he 'aho ko ē	And raise our hearts on this day
[539] Tu'u ai e palā tavake	Stand on the *palā tavake*

The poetry admonishes the people to do things for today and not worry about the past and its bitterness. But in doing so one should still take tradition into account, tradition here being symbolised by the feather headdress of the Tu'i Tonga—Queen Sālote's line of descent through her mother. When translating this text most
[301] Tongans translated *palā tavake* as a feather comb and only a few recognised it as
feather headdress—and it would seem that a comb with red feathers later took the
[178] place of the feather headdress. Feather combs are usually known as *helu kula* and
tradition says could only be used by the Tu'i Tonga line. Queen Sālote is said to have had one—which visually acknowledged her Tu'i Tonga background even though she ruled as a Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ha'a Ngata).

293 Another item which history ascribes to Paulaho is a fly whisk now in the
127 Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. It was bought at the Leverian sale where it was
listed in the catalogue as 'fly flap with a curious ornamented handle. This belonged
643 to Powlohaw King on Tongataboo' (Leverian Museum 1806: 135). This specimen

A. [See End Plate 3, following p. 220--Analyst]

291 294 177 [426] /49 cont./

121. On a small island like Nomuka there were already four lowerable sewing machines in 1952. The hand sewing machines in particular are willingly lent from house to house.

[462] just as they, naturally, also hem the vala. (122)

122. This work is sometimes also done by men.

291 [671] [177] [797] In Tonga the shirt was introduced by law as a result of missionary influence ("decent clothing"). Thus today in the villages one does not see a Tongan with the upper part of the body uncovered, though on the plantations many will seek relief on hot days and take off their shirts. True, the law did not prescribe the shape and condition of the shirt, so that for some natives it seems sufficient, at least on weekdays, to place a circular rag around their necks. Every 291 292 Tongan observes a definite hierarchy in his wardrobe: the first outfit (his best and newest things) is commonly worn to church on Sunday, the second outfit (that is, the one for Sundays that is already somewhat worn) is donned for festive occasions and for the kawa gatherings, while the third (that is, the outworn second) serves for everyday and, along with definite work clothes, is still very serviceable for various activities, especially in the plantings.

292 [621] /50/ For church-going, for a festival or a fono (123)

123. A village gathering, especially for the purpose of hearing explanations by government representatives with regard to specific village matters.

the ta'o-vala is worn, a more or less finely plaited mat (depending on one's wealth), secured with a plaited coconut cord (kafa). (124)

124. The customary types of ta'o-vala mats are the ones made of the various pandanus species, ta'o-vala tofua, ta'o-vala kie, ta'o-vala tapa 'i la; less frequently used is the rather shabby ta'o-vala tangai made from a dyed European sack.

/50 cont./

292 [565] Commoners wear the ta'o-vala when they appear before chiefs, just as the latter don their ta'o-vala when they have dealings with the people. Even the most "modern" Tongan who wears trousers as a [178] matter of principle, changes into a vala and ta'o-vala for a fono, for instance. With the ta'o-vala he shows his respect toward authorities, (125)

[113] 125. This ancient custom is already noted in: Geschichte der christlichen Missionen auf den Freundschafts- oder Tonga-Inseln /History of the Christian missions on the Friendly or Tonga Islands/. Bremen. Cincinnati, Ohio. 1857. p. 173.

and it is commonly considered bad taste to wear the ta'o-vala over 292 177 trousers. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who studied in Australia and visited London, sets a good example by wearing the vala and ta'o-vala day after day, and recommends this attire to all administrative employees. Some Tongans "who take pride in their appearance" --in the seaports as well as on the small islands--wear a tie and a European lounge jacket for church on Sunday, along with the customary attire (shirt, vala, ta'o-vala).

291 292 184 565 In contrast to olden times, therefore, nobles as well as commoners wear the same type of clothing. The elegant and valuable mats have even come down to the domain of the people, since many commoners use them as ta'o-vala. Some of the commoners own more and better clothing than the nobles living on the same islands. (126)

[434] 126. For example, the nopele ("highest ranking chief" see p. 95 of text. FS) T. told the author that he could no longer keep step with this development, and that he owns only a few shirts (T. lives on rather small rents from his landed property and on /the yield from/ his plantings, whereas some Tongan of the younger generation are engaged in copra production and, as commoners, are economically the stronger ones).

/50 cont./

291
177 Instead of the ordinary vala described above, some Tongans (besides the Tongan medical practitioners) wear the vala faka-Fisi borrowed from Fiji (Central Medical School), which has a belt that is stitched on and can be buttoned, as well as two inset pockets. Moreover, European trousers have become somewhat common, especially among the younger generation. This development was furthered by the second World War, that is, by the presence of foreign troops on Tongatapu and the training of a few thousand Tonga in European uniforms. However, the majority of natives still wear the vala, although for certain work (for instance- house-building) trousers are more [313] appropriate. For lumber work in the bush on Nomuka (on November 21/22, 1951), for example, /51/ of 22 Tongans, 15 wore vala (seven young men, eight older ones) and seven wore long or short pants (six young Tongans, one older one), (127) whereas at a court session (on November 19) on the same island all 21 in the audience appeared in the vala. On a Sunday afternoon (the end of October 1951), in the urbanized seaport and chief city of Nuku'alofa, where generally more /drawing of vala faka-Fisi appears here/ trousers are worn than on the small islands, 22 of the 35 natives observed wore vala and 13 wore long trousers. Here too the Tongans [292] wearing trousers almost all own a vala for special occasions.

291 The following list may show the specific combination of articles of clothing:

/52/ On November 28, 1951, a sunny day with a sharp breeze, a group of house-builders on Nomuka, along with a kava-group sponsoring this work, wore the following clothes:

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127. These 22 Tongans almost all wore the vala to church on Sundays, for the kava gatherings, for festivals, etc.

/52 cont./

291

young Tonga	purple overalls		
" "	" "		
older Tonga	light blue white-striped shirt	light blue white-striped *vala*	
" "	white shirt	black *vala*	
" "	" "	" "	
" "	grayish brown jersey	brown shorts	

B. *Kava group*

older Tonga	light blue shirt	khaki *vala*	with *ta'o-vala*
" "	black "	black "	
" "	light blue "	light gray *vala*	
" "	light *beige* "	black *vala*	
" "	" " "	" "	
" "	light blue "	" "	
" "	white "	pink "	
" "	light yellow shirt	light yellow *vala*	
" "	white jersey	light beige *vala*	

In general, one may say of the present-day clothing of the male Tongans (128) that the goal of the earlier missionaries, to clothe the natives "decently," was fully achieved. In spite of the fact that the Tongan church system has become independent, people still cling tenaciously to clothing the upper part of their bodies, which must certainly often

[292] 128. Besides the clothes described above there are also clothes for special occupations: black suits for the pastors of various churches, khaki shirt and khaki *vala* for policemen, and white *vala faka-Fisi* with white shirt for Tonga physicians. Various schools (colleges, for instance) have a special uniform for their students.

/54 cont./

291 older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a
177 vala, whereas nine (one older and eight
178 younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of Fungamisi, which borders on the urban seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan women (eleven older and nine younger ones) with the vala and five (two older and three younger ones) without it.

291 In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan
177 woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old
292 girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small
[515] islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked
[184] torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through
[831] torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full
291 covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her
296 clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the
292 small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports,
[184] and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a ta'o-vala (like the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by the lighter ta'o-vala kie-kie (136)

[824]
[294]
[176]
136. The ta'o-vala kie-kie is a narrow belt plaited of strips of pandanus leaves (lou tofua-like) with a black design, and with pendant strips plaited in the same way. It was "invented" some years ago as the colleges and soon became popular with women, and sometimes also men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the mana fau,(137)

/54 cont./

292 [824] (294) 137. This is plaited from bast of the Hibiscus tiliaceus, has long, pendant bast fibers and is entirely in natural color. See pp. 321/324 for method of production.

as well as the much-worn kie-kie lou fau. (138)

[824] (294) 138. A belt likewise plaited on Hibiscus tiliaceus bast, with long pendant bast fibers, but more artistic and dyed with European colors (for instance, crimson, purple, blue, pink, green, vermilion); also a variation called kie-kie Lopa decorated with red tree seeds (Adenathera pavonina). See p. 323-324 for method of production.

291 Tongan women still commonly go barefoot. Some wear sandals or white tennis shoes, more in the seaports, naturally, than on the small [177) islands. A few also struggle with European /55/ women's shoes. --Turbans made of undyed tapa (feta'aki) sometimes temporarily wound /around the head/ as a protection against the sun are reminiscent of similar head coverings of times past. (139)

139. Cf. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

292 177 Hats (tata lou 'akau) (140)

140. Cf. pp. 320-323.

797 [824] (294) plaited of leaf strips of pandanus (lou tofua and lou kie), which older women only wear for church and younger women and girls also on other festive occasions or merely as a sun shield on Sundays, go back to mission influence. (141)

141. The "sun hats" mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) were very probably different.

[794] They were introduced at that time by missionaries for women and girls who had made a confession, as a sign of their membership in the congregation.

294 296 178 Among the new tasks of sewing, washing and mending, (142)

/55 cont./

291 Yet nowadays, on the small islands (as well as on the outskirts of
the "chief city") one sees children (especially boys) run around
naked up to about five years (in exceptional cases up to nine years)
[296] even /56/ on Sundays. The reason for this is the indifference and
convenience of the parents who, because of the rapid deterioration of
fabrics resulting from improper treatment naturally find it very
difficult always to dress their numerous children (as many as 12)
[177] "decently." As a rule, however, people make an effort to dress their
children in small vala or panties of European fabric, and if possible,
● [292] make small shirts for boys and little dresses for girls to wear on
Sundays, often with the addition of small ta'o-vala for the boys.

291 Summarizing the change in Tongan clothing, we note primarily
177 the replacement of the tapa and a definitive acceptance of full
178 covering. Tongan women, when dyeing (koka'anga) the long lengths of
[386] tapa, often wrap a piece of old tapa around their hips to protect
their fabric clothing from color spatters. If they come as guests
[574] to a festival they will sometimes wear, as a vala, the tapa they have
[431] brought their hosts as a gift, and at many large dances (146)
[535] women and men (if they take part) still like to adorn themselves
with tapa. Aside from that, however, tapa as clothing has disappeared from Tongan life. Moreover, in the villages and in public no Tongan man or woman may defy the general fashion of clothing the upper part of their bodies. Yet the change is not as complete as in other areas of Polynesia, for example on Tahiti. For most of the Tongan men and women still adhere to the form of the vala and wear the belt mats (ta'o-vala)--probably no less than in ancient Tonga. Footgear and headgear have not become common.

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146. For example, the laka-laka, ula, ma'ulu'ulu and me'etu'upaki. For details see "Dances," p. 395 ff.

/58 cont./

301 237 are also seen nowadays on some Tongan women and a few men. But they
301 have been altered by inlays of silver ornaments (rhomboids, crosses,
237 dots) obtained from melted silver coins. Several Tongan "experts"
326 in Nuku'alofa and Neiafu make these rings which are dispersed from the
301 seaports throughout the Archipelago. Inventive Tongans make rings out
177 of a tortoise shell substitute, namely the black celluloid rims of
326 bicycle pumps, and also decorate them with silver designs. Occasion-
301 ally one sees tortoise shell bracelets which in /59/ workmanship and
[237] inlays resemble tortoise shell rings and in shape are simple spirals.

Some Tongan women own gold finger rings (162)

[177) 162. A few Tongan men also wear these in imitation of the European custom of wedding rings.

and gold and silver bracelets; a few have necklaces of the same
301 material. This European adornment has not become very widespread
177 during the last decades. The gold rings were heavier in the recent
past than the ones preferred nowadays. Among the few "durable
ornaments" worn nowadays we must count the plastic combs which some
Tongan women wear in their hair and which to some extent replace
the beautiful old rodlet combs. (163)

163. G. Forster, loc. cit. p. 328.

302 The only survival of face painting seems to be the coloring of cheeks with the blood of freshly killed pigs that is sometimes practised by young boys.

301 The colorful belt of hibiscus bast, kie-kie lou fau, (164)

292 164. See page 323.

535 which was mentioned under clothing and which often replaces the ta'o-
824 vala of women and girls, may also be regarded as adornment, as may the
dance shirts worn by Tongan women on the occasion of big dances, (165)

/59 cont./

301 165. For example, kofu lou fau knotted of
292 colored hibiscus bast for the laka-laka,
535 ula and tau'olunga dances; kofu lou 'akau, of
824 white tapa (feta 'aki) with mohokoi leaves (Cananga odorata), which are stitched on with hibiscus bast for the laka-laka and ma'ulu'ulu dances; sala sipi-sipi of tapa (feta'aki) dyed with European dye for the laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu tau'olunga dances. Dance shirts are also made of white tapa (feta'aki) studded with shimmering shells or red seed capsules. For dances some /women/ like to adorn themselves with maile leaves (Alyxia species) around neck, waist and wrists.

and the tapa vala trimmed with leaves, worn on similar occasions by women and by the men who may possibly take part. In the kie-kie lou
292 fau, the dance shirts and the dance vala, old and new cultural assets
535 are fused, the Tongan basic material and ancient basic forms being
177
301 "enriched" with European dyes, imported plants and novel form elements (for example, sleeves, decorations).

301 There is no longer a distinction made between nobles and commoners
184 in the realm of adornment.
565

In general, it made be said of today's adornment in Tonga that
301 the former varied richness it represented for the native has gone and
177
178 was in no sense replaced by European cultural assets. The plant adornment, as well as the (partly altered) dance garments are the only important vestiges which, to be sure, are still very much bound up with Tongan life.

/60/

Tattooing

304 In the art of tattooing there was an even greater change, which
[178] we may characterize as degeneration.
[182]

In ancient Tonga all men, with the exception of the highest dignitaries, (166)

166. Probably on account of special taboos.

/77 cont./

584 574 604 especially if the girl's family do not wish her to change her mind. If the outcome is positive, the two paternal uncles decide on the date of the wedding.

In any case, the consent of the girl is essential. This is probably similar to conditions in ancient Tonga, for Mariner reports that the majority of women married of their own free will. (221)

221. That is to say, those who, in his opinion, did not belong to the group of women two-thirds of whom/one-third? see footnote 216 F. S./ ^ were betrothed in early childhood to men of higher rank (J. Martin, loc cit. II. p. 167).

584 Until the wedding, the bridegroom then mostly visits his bride every evening while her parents are asleep, and chats with her, especially about the forthcoming festivity. Nothing else happens. However, it may also come about that the partners marry without ever having talked together previously (the older custom?). In some cases [574] the father of the bridegroom sends food and kava every evening until [431] the wedding day to the girl's place (for her and her parents); the [276] bridegroom and his relatives go there, drink kava, chat and sing (and dance).

585 292 On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom dons his best vala and his best shirt, in addition to several ta'o-vala (of the finest quality: the kie Tonga), (222)

222. Compare p. 310-312.

hangs one or two sisi kakala (223)

223. Compare p. 82-84.

around his shoulders and fetches his bride, who is wearing a particularly fine dress and likewise some three kie Tonga and sisi kakala, from her place in order to go with her to the registrar (or to ride if the latter is in another village or on another island) where the official marriage certificate is drawn up. Several /78/ relatives

585 602

^ [See footnote 216 on p. 108--Analyst]

/78 cont./

585 (up to 20 or 30 if they go by boat) accompany the couple. Meanwhile
(602) (or on the following day) the parents (especially the father) of the
(252) bridegroom (also sometimes the bride's parents) along with the rest
(593) of the relatives make a huge earth oven with large pigs, yams, taro
etc.

(602) After the civil marriage the couple, again accompanied by their
(565) relatives, go to church. The wedding celebrations of all classes and
(184) religious faiths of Tonga are similar; only the church wedding
ceremony, of course, differs among the individual denomination.

585 The bride is then again escorted to her paternal home in order
292 to dress for the actual wedding celebration which now begins. The bridegroom too goes to his place for this purpose. Their festive garments are more or less elaborate, according to their means. A very well-to-do bride, for example, is wrapped in a finely plaited, soft fihu-mat several meters long, which covers her body from breasts to knees (so that only the brassiere straps are visible). Over this are wrapped several (up to about ten) fine Samoa mats or kie Tonga, so that the bride can move only with her arms held almost horizontally.
(302) Her body is lavishly rubbed with Tonga oil; she wears a flower or
(301) a ribbon in her hair and perhaps also sisi kakala around her shoulders
and waist. The bridegroom is dressed like the bride. Sometimes, in addition, he wears a (silk) shirt. Both of them are barefoot and without a head covering. Such wedding garb is what is aspired to, but not always achieved. Because of little domestic diligence (in part the loss of ancient skills) or a certain "poverty" resulting from special circumstances, there are simpler wedding garments (fewer and coarser mats), which in extreme cases may consist of only one mat and one tapa vala (worn by the girl with her blouse or dress, by the man with his shirt and possibly with the cloth vala). A

/78 cont./

585 292 177 "European wedding," that is to say, one in European wedding dress, (224)

224. Namely: long white dress, veil and shoes for the bride, white suit and shoes for the bridegroom (with a flower in his buttonhole); often with flower girls and an English wedding cake.

is rare, even in the seaports. This type of wedding is arranged either because people want to imitate the example of whites or for the simple reason that they are not in a position to be extravagant with traditional Tongan things (mats), and the European wedding finery is perhaps more easily obtainable; both reasons may also come together.

585 602 The bridegroom with his relatives now fetches his bride and her relatives from her house and leads her to his place. /79/ Close relatives of the bridal couple (especially the respective tu'a-sina [see above]) follow the bridegroom and bride in this procession, carrying the wedding baskets (kato alu; see p. 317), in which lie a European bottle with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga), a head rest (kali) and other personal articles, each on a ta'o-vala (225)

225. See page 308.

585 178 184 This custom is, however, becoming rather infrequent nowadays. In a town like Fungamisi (neighboring village of the seaport Neiafu/Vava'u) a kato uli is no longer seen at any wedding, and in a village like 'Uiha (on the more remote island of 'Uiha) only a few weddings take place with a wedding basket, whereas in Felemea, situated on the same island, one may see the kato alu being used more often, and even Tongans who normally use a European pillow for sleeping, have a headrest carried behind them at their wedding.

585 574 554 At the bridegroom's place a long roofing of plaited coconut palm twigs (also often of corrugated iron) is erected, underneath

/80 cont./

585 and ecclesiastical ceremonies were simply added, just as other
177 European characteristics (for example, the large canisters of
178 zwieback which today are so important) were adopted as a matter of
585 course, so that everything has undergone an amicable fusion. The
565 upper classes (231)

178 231. These very probably practiced all such customs even in olden times more extensively and conscientiously than did the broad masses.

--up to the royal house--cling more tenaciously than the commoners to
the old wedding customs (with respect to clothing as well as the
585 punctiliously preserved ceremony). Probably the lavish use of Tongan
565 apparel seen at many weddings of commoners is not to be interpreted as
292 tradition handed down from olden times, since the broad masses were
178 formerly obliged to work for the nobles; (232)

[422] 232. Compare J. Martin (loc. cit. II. p. 109) on the women of the lower classes in ancient Tonga: "...what they make is not their own property, but is done by order of their superiors." /cited in English/

rather, most of the people probably /81/ gradually came into possession of valuable mats and long lengths of tapa only after their "liberation," in respectful but purposive imitation of upper-class customs.

585 Today, among commoners, it may also come about that young couples
583 --with the silent approval of their parents--stage a "flight marriage,"
178 that is to say, run away and have a civil and church marriage. This
saves the parents the economic burden of the wedding celebration.
585 That, along with the rather frequent abolishing at the regular
178 marriage of the delayed consummation, (233)

[565] 233. According to E.W. Gifford (Tongan Society, p. 193), the marriage among commoners was in former times consummated during the first

/180 cont./

501 replaced the ancient Tongan catamarans (kalia). (469)

178
177 469. Natives of Vava'u also use the motor boats belonging to Neiafu merchants in fishing with the towline (fakatele).

226 /181/ The sandals (teka) plaited from the bast of the fau tree
292 (Hibiscus tiliaceus) are today still worn by the men (sometimes also by
178
824 the women) when they fish on the rough coral reefs.

415 Fish are transported in part in the traditional fish baskets
226 ('oa) plaited of young coconut palm leaves; (470)

824 470. These are apparently the ones Mariner refers
177 to in his account (J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 309.)

however,,they often use European bags, while the small fish--apparently according to ancient custom--are strung on sticks stuck through their heads.

286 According to Mariner (471)

463 471. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

(178) net-knotting in ancient Tonga was a hereditary craft. Nowadays, to all
appearances, it is not, though in every village there are a few
natives (especially older ones) who are able to make fish nets. As in
[824] old times, they use a knotting shuttle (netting needle) (hika) which
(237) is carved from the wood of the tao tree (Casuarina equisetifolia L.)
or of the milo tree, or a sperm whale bone, and a measure for the
meshes (mata kupenga) cut out of tortoise shell or fau wood (Hibiseus
tiliaceus). An old razor blade serves as knife. They buy the
necessary amount of twine for making the net and ask one of the
[465] experts to knot a fish net; usually his work is acknowledged with a
small gift (for example, tobacco). Since they are thus dependent
227 on the work of a specialist and the twine also costs a certain sum of
[463]
[426] money, not every household nowadays owns nets; they lend them to each
[178] other. The situation was probably similar in ancient Tonga, through
the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

/207 cont./

285 tofua is plaited out of leaf strips of the lou tofua species (for its
291 treatment see above under lo taha). This belt mat is dyed yellowish
[824) brown with a mixture of burnt coral limestone and the juice of green
[386) coconut husks (or sea water) and then pressed under the sleeping place.

ta'o-vala la (ta'o-vala tapa i'la):

The ta'o-vala la is also worn by men (and women). It differs from the ta'o-vala tofua chiefly in not being rectangular like the latter, but resembles a triangular sail (la); (535) it is also plaited out of lou tofua leaf strips and dyed like the ta'o-vala tofua.

535. There are also ta'o-vala which are made of three smaller triangles linked together.

ta'o-vala kie:

285 This is the most valuable belt mat. Among commoners, men and
292 women use it only on especially important occasions (for example, at
565 festive church services and as part of the wedding garb of bride and
(178) bridegroom). According to a generally well-informed native on Nomuka,
(643) only the hau (i.e. the king and those of royal blood) were permitted
(644) to wear the ta'p-vala kie in ancient Tonga. Today, however, as a
result of democratization, the majority of commoners own them; yet the old order is still alive insofar as a person who wears a ta'o-vala kie, except on the most important occasions, is unpleasantly conspicuous in the eyes of these natives, and is suspected of wanting to show off "as a chieftain."

285 The ta'o-vala kie is made of the lou kie pandanus species.
824 The natives cut the leaves off the plant, remove their thorny edges
and part of the midrib, and roll them into rather large bundles (of 20 or 30 leaves) which they boil in a large canister (for about one-half to one hour); then they remove the upper part (upper skin) of the leaves from their lower part and place the former in the sea for

/207 cont./

285 [824] a few days (about seven), desalt them in fresh water, dry them for three or four days in the sun and roll them up again. Before plaiting them the natives stretch these upper skins of the leaves, make them pliable and divide them into narrow strips.

[531] [177] [386] Sometimes the natives smoke-dry this belt mat to make it somewhat darker (that is, yellowish brown). Nowadays, they also sometimes interweave it with lou kie strips that have been dyed with multicolored, artificial European dyes.

ta'o-vala kie-kie:

[291] The ta'o-vala kie-kie is very probably a "new discovery" that is no more than two decades old. This is not so much a mat as a plaited belt with pendant strips that are plaited in the same way. Men and women wear it like the ta'o-vala tofua.

[824] [531] They plait the ta'o-vala kie-kie out of leaf strips of the lou tofua variety of pandanus (see above under lo taha) and ornament it with interwoven black-dyed (see above under lo taha) leaf strips of the same species.

/208/

5. Display Mats

fala fihu:

285 565 [431] [585] The fala fihu is a valuable mat which is generally not used by commoners, but is stored away and dept for a special purpose. It is given by a relative or close friend on the occasion of a wedding; a girl will give it to the man she loves, and a young man will also ask his sister for a fala fihu to give to a male of female friend as

[585] [292] [764] [513] a special token of affection. At her wedding, a very well-to-do bride is wrapped in such a mat (but usually of a larger variety known as "fihu"), and at a burial the corpse is sometimes covered with it. The daughter of a high-ranking man also sleeps on such a mat.

285 824 The fala fihu is made from the pandanus species lou kie (see above under ta'o -vala kie).

/208 cont./
000 above under *ta'o-vala kie*).

kie Tonga:

285 This likewise very valuable mat, today the most finely plaited
292 in Tonga, is popularly worn by bride and bridegroom at their wedding
[585] and also occasionally as a *ta'o-vala* at important church services and
[565] festivities. A commoner will not wear it when he visits a headman
(in order not to elevate himself), but the nobles themselves may wear
[422] it at all times. In the various villages only a few natives own such
285 *kie Tonga*. Even today, as in the past, (536)

439 536. See J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. I. p. 162.

178 such mats are bought from Samoa where they are made even better and more exquisitely; however, the difficulties involved in procuring these in particular are too great to make possible a general distribution in the Archipelago.

285 The material for these mats is also the *lou kie* species of
824 pandanus (see above).

6. Various Mats

pola:

285 By "*pola*" the Tongan means the coarsely woven halved coconut
[824] palm leaves of specific (rectangular) shapes that are plaited for
[342] various purposes. They are used for the many sections of walls and roofs of ancient Tongan style dwellings, as well as for the "mat doors" put together out of several *pola*. The coconut leaf mattings (*pola kai*) (537)

537. Two joined, coarsely plaited halves of coconut palm leaves.

on which festive meals are served should also be mentioned here.

fala tuki kava:

This special mat serves as a pad on which the kava roots are

/214 cont./

Sandals

285 **teka:**

292 These are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage. Today, as in the
past, they are worn on the sharp-edged coral reefs by fishermen
(sometimes also by women).

285 The men (not so much the women) plait these sandals from the bast
462 of Hibiscus tiliaceus. Nowadays, they sometimes also use (for con-
824 venience) the less durable leaf strips of pandanus.

Hats

285 The occasional wearing of hats may be traced back to European
177 influence. Hence the plaiting of such head coverings is also a new
291 type of work in Tonga.

tata lou 'akau:

292 These hats are worn by older women when they go to church; they
794 are a sign of membership in the Wesleyan congregation where the
wearers have made a special confession. Younger women and girls
wear these hats not only for church-going, but also on other festive
292 occasions, and as sunshades on Sunday. In the opinion of one Tongan
177 who is in general well informed, hats have been made in the Archipelago
for about 40 years and are an imitation of models taken from the
(Europeanized) Niue Island where indeed very similar models are
plaited to this day.

285 /215/ The tata lou 'akau are made only by women from the leaf
462 strips of the lou tofua pandanus species; (565)

824 565. See lo taha, pp. 305-308.

531 they plait patterns into them with pandanus leaf strips of the lou kie
species, (566)

566. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309.

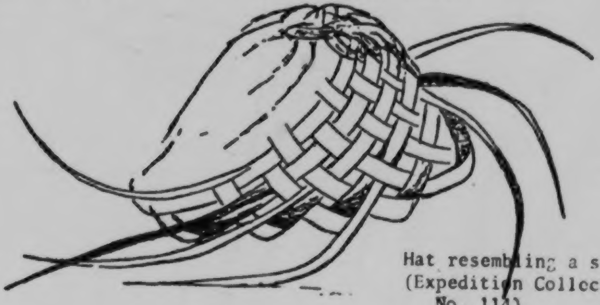
dyed with European dyes, and put a band of cotton around the hat.

/215 cont./

285 tata fakapolisi: Hat resembling police caps.

292 helemeti: Hat resembling sun helmet.

These hats and those of other shapes are sometimes quickly plaited by young Tongans on the plantations from halved coconut palm leaves, and are worn as a protection against the sun or as a quaint [178] adornment. They are "inventions" of recent times.



Hat resembling a sun helmet
(Expedition Collection,
No. 114)

Typical women's plaitwork is the making of various ornamental belts.

mana fau:

This simplest ornamental belt may be worn on all special occasions (church-going, festival, etc.) by girls and women (and boys) in place of a belt mat (ta'o-vala, see above). Perhaps this bast belt is a recent introduction or a new creation which may, however, be several decades old.

285
283
824
[462]
Women and girls make the mana fau from the bast of Hibiscus tiliaceus. With the machete men and women (girls) usually cut several small trunks (some 15 or 20) of this tree which grows only wild; the women (girls) scrape off as much as they can of the outer bark with knives, pieces of broken glass, etc., and place the slender trunks into the sea for two to four weeks; this loosens and make pliable the rest of the bark-bast layer so that it can easily be pulled

/215 cont./
285 off (all around) in one strip. After it has dried in the sun for
283 about two days /216/ the white bast (= on the inner side of the remaining
824 bark) is removed. This the women (girls) divide into narrow
strips and therewith knot the mana fau which is actually only a strand
of bast slung around the hips, from which the bast fibers, knotted to
it in close succession, hang down to below the knees.

kie-kie lou fau:

292 The kie-kie lou fau is worn especially by women and girls,
though sometimes also by men. They wear it instead of a ta'o-vala
[764] to church, when visiting chiefs, for festivals and other occasions,
[574] and for dances (laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu, hula hula, tau'olunga, hula,
[535] ulu); they also decorate fresh graves with it.

285 This ornamental belt which originated only in recent times (end
292 of the last century?/ is made by women and girls, likewise out of
[462] hibiscus bast, and consists of a plaited belt cord on which are
[824] knotted long, narrow bast strips that hang down. It usually has
[283] special knotted ornaments in the hip section (for example, bast
[777] strips tied into rosettes), and parts of it, in contrast to mana fau,
[386] are always dyed with European dyes (particularly green, lavender, pink,
and blue).

kie-kie pueki:

292 This ornamental belt, which is also worn by women and girls
[438] (and occasionally by men) in place of the ta'o-vala, is a typical
product of the island of Niua Toputapu situated in the very northern
part of the Archipelago. It may be an ancient cultural heritage.

292 The natives there make the kie-kie pueki, like the mana fau, of
237 hibiscus bast (with long pendant bast strips); all around the hip
[283] section, however, they knot snail shells on a band about eight centi-
[285] meters wide. The snail shells, which are whitish-yellow in their
[777]
[386]

292 /216 cont./
237 natural state, are today occasionally dyed with European dyes (for
177 example, crimson) for ornamental arrangements.
386

kie-kie lopa:

292 The kie-kie lopa is worn by women and girls (more seldom by men)
[535] as a ta'o-vala; they also like to wear it at dances (laka-laka,
[353] tau'olunga, kailao, hula, ula, ma'ulu'ulu) and often use it to decorate
their dwellings. This may be an ancient cultural heritage. It is
[462] made by women and girls and consists of a plaited cord of bast
(283) (Hibiscus tiliaceus) on which bast fibers are knotted; upon these they
[824] string red lopa seeds (Adenanthera pavonina?). Today the bast fibers
[386] of the kie-kie lopa are also sometimes dyed with European dyes.
(177)

Perhaps the principle of these ornamental belts is an ancient
Tongan cultural heritage. With much love and zeal they are individually
[283] knotted today by women and girls. European dyes are an essential
[386] feature of all of them except mana fau.
(177)

287 The bast cloth (tapa) (567)
177
[196]

567. Tapa is actually an incorrect designation, though long since established even for the dyed and figured bark cloth (more correctly: bast cloth); in the Tongan language only the non-dyed edge of the bast cloth is called tapa, whereas the dyed (figured) bast cloth is called ngatu.

is still made in the Tonga Archipelago on a large scale, even though the process is very tedious and in part /217/ entails hard work, and European textiles are relatively easily obtainable for the inhabitants of all the islands.

287 As clothing, however, tapa is used only on certain special
292 occasions; (568)
784

568. See p. 66 ff.

178 since the old belief in taboos has been lost, strips of bast cloth are

287 /217 cont./
292 also no longer used as a sign of taboo. (569)

[784] 569. Still mentioned, for example, in
[178] Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 233.

[513] But at any rate the Tongans use tapa today, as in the past, largely as a sleeping pad (on the mats) and also especially as bed covers. At festive and solemn occasions, especially at a wedding and a burial,
[752] bast cloth plays an important role, rooted in tradition. For dances the natives still like to wear tapa clothing; and finally, as in old times, strips of white bast cloth are used as bandages for wounds.
287 Apparently recent is the widespread use of tapa as a curtain inside
353 the dwelling where it partitions off parts of rooms, replacing the
178 movable interior walls (standing mats) formerly used for this purpose.

Today, in Tonga, tapa is made in the following way:

248 The paper mulberry tree (Broussonetia papyrifera) is planted specifically for making bast cloth. Men (sometimes also women) plant saplings on land that has been cleared of weeds (also in an old harvested yam field). While it is growing, the women remove the weeds that shoot up and break off the sprouting twigs from the saplings, so that the latter will grow quite tall. When the little paper mulberry trees (hiapo) have become tall enough, that is, after one or two years, the women (sometimes also the men) cut the small trunks with a machete or an axe.

287 They take the small trunks to the village and keep them in the house for three to six days so that the bark loses its stickiness. Then, with their teeth, the women notch the layer of bark at the lower end of the little tree about five centimeters lengthwise, and, with their hands, vigorously pull off the entire layer around the trunk in a single strip. On the inner side of this layer of bark is the bast needed for tapa-making. This they remove from the bark by separating it from the lower end with a machete (or a kitchen knife) and pulling

/219 cont./

287 usually does herself with a wooden rod and blackish-brown color (a
[386]
[531] mixture of koka-color and the soot of burned Aleurites).

The tapa lengths are folded and rolled into balls and kept in the dwelling of the owner who, in the course of time, cuts off pieces as needed.

287
531
[386] There are three types of tapa, according to the methods of dyeing:

1. ngatu tahina:

This most important, because universally used, tapa is dyed a solid brown with the exception of the border and certain parts of the decoration. The patterns are brought out with dark brown or blackish-
[212] brown lines. They represent, for example, the /220/ adornment of chieftains, striking or historically noteworthy landscape motifs, symbols of the modern Tongan state (star, crown, dove, swords), parts of ancient Tongan chieftains' houses, as well as the new palace of the king and desirable European objects such as the bicycle and gramaphone, and some also have inscriptions (block letters) which explain the meaning of individual decorations (for example, KOE SISI O TAUFAAHAU = this is the ornamental belt (sisi) of the Taufa'ahua; KOE KALAUNI = this is the crown; KOE PASIKALA = this is a bicycle; KALAMIFONI = gramaphone).

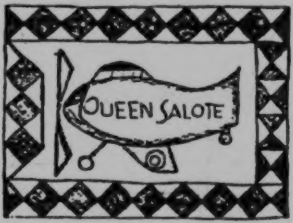
287
[513]
[353]
[342]
[292]
[764]
[431] The ngatu tahina is used as a bed cover (also bed pad) for men women and children, to partition rooms and as ceiling covers in the house, as wedding clothes, to lay a corpse to rest, as a gift, and as a dance dress; in each case sufficiently large pieces are cut from the roll.

2. ngatu tapa'i ngatu:

287
531
[212] Tapa of this kind has patterns outlined in dark brown (blackish-brown) on a surface that has been left more or less white. Their patterns are also symbols of ancient and modern Tonga (for example,

/220 cont./

287
531
212 a certain flower ornament



Pattern on a *ngato tapa 'i ngatu*: a spitfire fighter plane (Expedition Collection, No. 27)

of a chief, parts of ancient Tongan buildings and houses of chiefs, striking landscapes, the queen's fan, the flag of Tonga, a spitfire fighter plane that the Tongans gave England in the second World War, and a nautical mark in the harbor of Neiafu), and some of them are explained by block-letter inscriptions.

287 Bast cloth of this kind is used especially as bed covers, to
(513) divide up and decorate rooms in the dwelling as well as to cover the
(353) ceiling of these, and as gifts; it is also used occasionally as a
(342) wedding and a dance dress and to cover a corpse.
(431)
●(292) 3. *ngatu 'uli*:
(764)

This type of tapa is dark brown to blackish-brown (brown *koka*
287 color and blackish *koka* and *Aleurites* soot). It is decorated with
531 print panels (chiefly with the "*manulua*" pattern, namely, cruciform
(386) triangular patterns), or /221/ else patterns are dispensed with and the lines of the coconut fiber cords that were previously wrapped around the "drum" stand out as the pattern on the entire
287 blackish surface.

(513) This tapa is used chiefly as bed pad (on the top mat), as a
(431) wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.
(764)

/261 cont./

535 in the royal family or some other extraordinary festival such as the
178 50th anniversary of the Treaty with England) the natives learn such
529 dances in the various villages, (714)

714. Older men and women are the dance teachers (punake).

and they often practice these for months until the individual movements of all participants are very precisely coordinated, as
535 in the past. Besides such dances intended for the most important festivals, there are today two forms of a casual, improvised native dance, the tau'olunga and the hula. These, as well as the rest /262/ of the most well-known Tongan dances may be briefly described in the following list which will also give some idea of the changes that have taken place in comparison with the past.

tau'olunga:

is danced by Tongan men and women of all ages, even by children and very old people. The majority of natives master this simplest of Tongan dances.

Generally, two men and two women demonstrate it. They wear
[291] European clothing, but often only underwear and over it ornamental
[177] belts (for example, mana fau, kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324)
[292] and necklaces of plant material (kakala) (see pp. 82-84).
[301]

Especially at kava gatherings, at village festivals and at
[574] weddings, a few young men and girls dance the tau'olunga, the various steps and movements of which are improvised. They accompany
[533] the dance with special songs (containing descriptions of landscapes, various flowers, the fragrance of blossoms, the moon, the sun, love and so on) and also play guitar accompaniments while the audience mark time with hand-clapping. The tau'olunga is danced at any time of the day, but usually in the evening.

/262 cont./

535 This dance does not seem to be very old in Tonga, and was
[177] probably borrowed from Samoa about a century ago.

hula:

is danced only by girls (women) about 12 to 30 years of age. The hula is quite popular; about half the young women can perform it.

Only one or two girls (women) at a time demonstrate this dance.
[292] They usually put on the ornamental belt (for example, mana fau,
[301] kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324) and necklaces of plant material
[291] (kakala) (see pp. 82-84) and wear European underwear. On many occasions,
[177] for example kava- picnic- birthday- and wedding-gatherings, the hula
[574] may be danced. The dancers move (especially their hips and the upper
[527] part of their bodies) to the singing of a chorus and the playing of several guitars. The hula may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The hula is a new dance taken over from Hawaii in the 30s of this century. There too it originated only in recent times.

laka-laka:

is danced by Tongan men and women about 16 to 60 years of age. The laka-laka is probably the most popular and most often performed of the large dances. Approximately half of all natives are proficient in it.

About 60 natives take part in a laka-laka; however, their number may reach 400. Both sexes are about equally represented, but equal numbers are not a prerequisite. Usually all male participants wear the same dance costume (for example, white shirt, black vala of European material, ta'o-vala [see pp. 69-71], kahoa and sisi kakala [see pp. 82-84]), just as all /263/ female participants are uniformily dressed (for example, dance shirt kofu lou fau and vala of tapa [ngatu 'uli] [see pp. 84-85 and 330-333]).

[554] The dancers usually stand in two rows (more, if many people

/263 cont./

535 dance movements in the many-faceted laka-laka.

ma'ulu'ulu:

is danced by natives of both sexes aged 10 to 60 (70) years. The ma'ulu'ulu is the most well-known dance next to the laka-laka; almost half the Tongans have probably learned it.

Approximately 40 to 60 natives take part in the ma'ulu'ulu (the two
sexes in about the same proportion). The costume is similar to that of
[177] the laka-laka, but the male and female dancers all wear the same colors;
[292] often they also make do with European fabrics and add ornamental belts
[301] (sisi kakala) and necklaces (kakala).

The ma'ulu'ulu is a sitting dance. The participants group them-
[554] selves similarly as for the laka-laka, with the highest ranking man and
the highest ranking woman in the center of the first row; no more
than two rows are formed for this dance.

535 Behind the dancers sits a chorus (of mixed age, sex and rank), to
533 whose singing several nafa barrel drums stretched with skins (see p 390-
392) are beaten. After a drum prelude, which is supposed "to rouse the hearts of the dancers," the male and female dancers, with movements of the hands (and arms), of the /264/ head and eyes, begin to portray the content of the song that is being sung (and that contains the same themes as the laka-laka), and to indicate the rhythm with foot movements.

535 The ma'ulu'ulu is danced at any time of day.

[177] This dance was borrowed from Samoa (probably a long time ago).

tafi:

is a dance very similar to the ma'ulu'ulu. It is presented less
often than the latter, and no more than perhaps one-third of the
natives are experienced in it. The tafi differs from the ma'ulu'ulu
[533] particularly by the fact that there is scarcely any singing to
accompany it, and the movements are determined chiefly by the drum

/264 cont./

535 beats of the *nafa*.

[533] This is probably an ancient Tongan dance.

kailao:

is danced only by men (chiefly young ones, though also older ones). Some two-thirds of the Tongans have probably learned it.

Various numbers of natives (usually between 20 and 100) may take part in a *kailao*. They dance with naked torsos preferably
[301] decorated with *kakala* necklaces (see page 82-84) in addition, they wear
[292] ornamental belts (*mana fau*, *kie-kie lou fau* [see pp. 321-324]) over
[177] European underpants and feather hats (made of tapa and red-dyed chicken
[291] feathers).
[237]

The dancers generally arrange themselves in rows of 20 men each. Each man holds a dance paddle. The accompaniment consists of rhythmic
[533] beating with sticks on one or two empty cans by a few men. The dancers display considerable movement (including steps).

The *kailao* may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The *kailao*--originally probably a war dance--was taken over a long
[534] time ago from Uvea. Tin cans have replaced the wooden drums formerly
[178] customary.

tau faka-niua:

is a dance very similar to the *kailao* but not more than about one-fourth of the Tongans (including especially the natives of Niua Toputapu) are experienced in it. The *tau faka-niua* differs from the *kailao* by the fact that the dancers carry bamboo sticks rather than paddles. The rhythm here too is indicated by the beating of cans
[533] (one to six); /correct/ beat is maintained by the use of pieces of bamboo (notched to form four points).

The *tau faka-niua* may be danced at any time of day.

The *tau faka-niua* seems to be an old Tongan war dance from the
[534] island of Niua Toputapu. In former times wooden drums were used
[178] instead of tine cans.

/264 cont./

535 instead of tin cans.

eke:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged 12 to 70 years. The eke is a popular, but rather difficult dance; probably only about one-fourth of the natives have learned it.

The number of participants must be divisible by four, and consists generally of 4 to 20. The costumes of the dancers are the same as for the kailao (see above).

[533] /265/ One or two tin cans are beaten with sticks to accompany the eke. The natives dance in groups of four: two persons each carry (approximately 1.40 meter-long) uhi sticks (Evodia hortensis Forster var. simplicifolia [Rech.] K. Schumann) and two have shorter ones (approximately 0.60 meters). They beat with the short sticks and parry with the long ones.

The eke may be danced at any time of day.

[534] [178] The eke is perhaps an ancient Tongan war dance. Here too the tin cans probably replaced the wooden drums.

ula:

is danced only by girls and women from the ages of about 12 to 70. The ula is not easy and apparently not very popular. About one-fifth of all female Tongans have probably learned it.

[292] [177] In general, two to ten dancers take part. They wear vala and dance shirts made of black tapa (ngatu 'uli) trimmed with black-dyed leaves (also without leaf trimming; or "white" tapa trimmed with leaves; or hibiscus bast shirts [kofu lou fau] see pp. 84-85); to an increasing extent they also wear European-type clothing and vala made of European fabrics.

[533] The dancers stand in a row and, while singing to the accompaniment of a chorus (men and women) sitting behind them, they perform movements

/265 cont./

535 533 that are similar to those of the laka-laka (see above), but are slower. These movements apparently do not express the contents of the songs sung (for example, "sweet potatoes are good...", "yams will make us fat...").

535 The ula may be danced at any time of day.

[177] Even in ancient Tongan times the ula was one of the most important dances of these natives; possibly it was once borrowed from Samoa. (716)

716. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 329 ff.

A century and a half ago it was still a typical night dance. (717)

717. Ibid. pp. 330, 332.

Today the ula performance is no longer bound to a specific time, but has probably also been simplified throughout.

me'etu'upaki:

is danced by young and older male and female Tongans (but more by the former). The me'etu'upaki is not particularly popular because it is difficult. Probably about one-tenth of the natives have learned it.

Approximately 60 to 100 male and female dancers take part in it. [292] [177] All dancers are dressed alike; for example, they wear vala made of ngatu tahina, (718)

718. See pp. 328-331.

white European shirts (men) and white blouses (women).

[554] All participants hold short-stemmed dance paddles (approximately 80 centimeters long) in their right hands and stand in two (or more) rows (the sexes separated) (for example, 20 men and women respectively) with the highest-ranking and the chief male (female) dancers in the center of the first row (arrangement as for the laka-laka [see above]).

535 533 The singing of a chorus of men and women behind the rows (for example, about food: "If you do not plant you will be hungry...") and the reverberating sound of the lali (a wooden slit-drum, see pp. 390-392) accompany the dancers' movements which follow the rhythm and

/266 cont./

535 [724] [177] is very old in Tonga. According to an otherwise well-informed Tonga, this dance was once upon a time taken over from Uvea.

[538] [533] Today, as in the past, the Tongan dance is closely connected with poetry and music. (721)

721. In general, only dances recently written and composed (within the framework of the customary pattern) are practiced and performed.

Among the natives the desire to dance and the talent for dancing are still basically present. The list given above, which is by no means exhaustive, shows that some native dances are still known in Tonga. Once the natives practice a dance they take great pains and, on the basis of many rehearsals, strive to achieve a precision for which these natives were so very much praised in the past. In contrast to ● [292] [177] the customary everyday and festive clothing in which European fabrics predominate, (722)

722. See p. 67 ff.

the natives still use for their dances costumes of bast-cloth and bast (723)

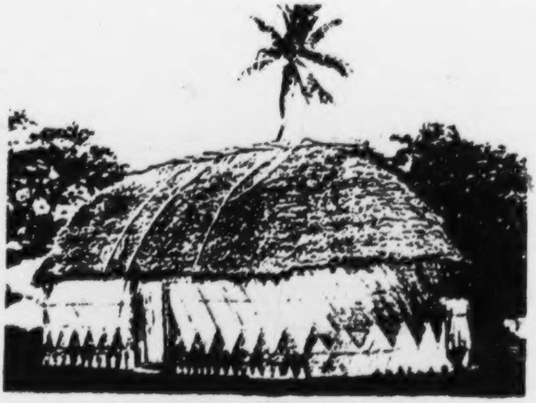
723. Over European underwear.

that are probably similar to the traditional dance dress.

535 178 On the other hand, one must note that nowadays there are very few ancient Tongan dances in the Archipelago, and that these very ones are seldom shown. They /267/ have also not been handed down unchanged; women and girls take part in such dance which once were apparently reserved for men; the separation into day and night dances has been forgotten, and it is to be presumed that the movements as well as the accompanying songs have also changed to a certain extent. 535 177 The borrowed dances are far more familiar and popular than the ancient Tongan ones, and are thus more often performed. Yet this is to be traced back less to European influences than to the Tongan tendency

[No p. 404 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

342



5. Dwelling in ancient Tongan style (kaho walls)

764
482
291
292

6. Funeral procession; pallbearers in foreground

[End Plate 3]

anchor close to the edge of the reef in-shore of us. They were 501
crowded with natives busily engaged in unloading them, a number
of smaller canoes being employed in conveying their cargoes, 505
which consisted of bundles of matting, large baskets of yams and
other provisions, gear of various kinds, cooking utensils, &c., across
the shallow water on the reef to the landing-place at the beach.
Upon inquiring the cause of all this bustle from the natives alongside
the ship, they told us that these were the canoes of King 643
George, who had arrived from Haabai during the night; which 123
being confirmed by information obtained from the shore, the
Meander at eight o'clock fired a Royal salute, and soon after nine
Captain Keppel went on shore to pay a visit to his Majesty.

When we landed we heard that the King was engaged in 643
receiving his chiefs at a great kava party, but understanding that 644
our visit would not be considered an intrusion, we walked down 574
to the place of assembly, accompanied by one of the missionaries, 123
who obligingly offered to act as interpreter and to present us. [124]

The place of meeting was a kind of shed, having the ends and [344]
back temporarily closed in with matting. Here we found the
King seated cross-legged upon the ground, with five of his principal chiefs on each hand, the rest of the chiefs sitting outside the house and forming a great semicircle upon the lawn before it, the bulk of the people being collected in a crowd beyond. All round were great heaps of provisions—roasted pigs, yams, cooked fish, and bundles of the kava root.*

The King is a fine man about forty-five years of age, upwards 643
of 6 feet in height, and powerfully made. His hair was cropped 142
quite close, and he had neither whiskers nor beard. Features well 302
formed, and forehead rather high than wide. His dress consisted
of a tappa petticoat, fastened round the waist and reaching down 643
to the feet. Above this he wore a large piece of fine matting, 292
folded many times, so as to make a great bundle round the body,
coming as high as the chest, the arms and shoulders being left
bare. He wore no ornament of any kind, and held in his hand 643
a green branch, which appeared to be merely for the purpose of [293]
keeping the flies off. The large mat is said to be a mark of [301]
distinction, and with the petticoat of tappa forms the court dress of [292]
Tonga, as no European clothing is allowed to be worn on these occasions.

When we arrived at the house the business was about to commence. 123
We entered the apartment at the side, and took our 574
places upon mats behind the king, who did not appear to notice us
until the missionary had spoken to him, when he turned half round, 643

---

* Kava is an infusion of the root of a species of pepper (Piper mythesticum), and upon every great occasion kava-drinking forms an important part of the ceremony. [276]

562 One of the most remarkable
things in connexion with the Tonga Islands is the
562 respect and consideration in which the women are held. They
565 have female chiefs; and if a woman of the higher class marry any
one beneath her, she still retains her superior rank.

133 The coral reef at Nu-ku-alófa forms a belt along the shore,
varying from 50 to 150 yards in width, deepening suddenly
so that a large vessel at low water might lie close alongside
it like a wharf. Over this coral flat we had always to walk upon
landing, the depth of water upon the crumbling coral varying
from ankle to knee-deep, with occasional holes in which one might
suddenly find himself up to the neck. After our first visit we
always went prepared for any depth.

643 At 4 o'clock King George, accompanied by the missionaries,
609 Messrs. Lawry, Amos, and Daniells, came off to the ship. His
Majesty now wore a clean white shirt, with the usual tappa petticoat
[292] fastened round the waist and hanging down to the feet. He
was received at the gangway by Captain Keppel and officers with
a guard of honour, and was then taken below to the captain's cabin.
Here he looked with great attention at the pictures hanging round,
particularly at some hunting scenes; and being shown a coloured
panoramic sketch which I had made at Cape York, with canoes and
Torres Straits natives in the foreground, he looked at it very attentively,
inquiring where they belonged to, and asking several other
questions about them. In the dining cabin he examined with
great interest the engraving of the Queen after Winterhalter.
[264] At dinner his manner was composed and dignified: he took soup,
[157] and used a knife and fork with perfect ease, taking wine with Captain
Keppel and the rest at table, preferring champagne to any
other, but drinking very moderately. When asked if he would
[262] take some wild-duck (which had been shot at the lagoon in the
island), he replied, "No, that is Tonga, I can always get that,"
and, looking towards a leg of mutton, added, "I will take some
sheep." He inquired the rank of the different officers who were
at table, and observing a midshipman amongst them, he asked
[262] "Why that boy was there?" As he was helping himself when the
cheese came round, one of the missionaries interrupted him rather
hurriedly, telling him that he thought he would not like it; to which
he replied quietly, "If I do not, I can wash it down with water."
[157] The most perfect composure of manner marked all his actions, and
formed one of the most striking features in his character. At
dessert, several glasses, containing different kinds of wine, were
placed before him, in order that he might choose which he liked
best. Captain Keppel observed at the same time that there were
other light French wines if he preferred them, at which he shook
his head, and said, with an animated expression in broken English,
"I do not like French." Upon his health being drunk, and the